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THIS HAS BEEN A GOOD YEAR for the modernists. The net result of proceedings in the Baptist Convention and the Presbyterian General Assembly has been to strengthen their position in both denominations. But what they have won is not so much agreement as toleration. The moderates who hold the balance of power in both churches still incline to fundamentalist beliefs, but they lack the fundamentalist ardor. They love the church more than creeds, peace more than rigid consistency. To the logical mind there is a certain humor in some of the ecclesiastical compromises by which the church is held together. Thus, the Baptist brethren decided that any form of baptism recognized by the local church might make a good church member but that official delegates to the convention could be chosen only from the ranks of the immersed. The moralist may sympathize with the stalwarts to whom such compromises are anathema; but the historian knows that it is precisely by such illogical adjustments that progress has been made in church and state. It is too early to predict confidently the course of events. The fundamentalists may be down but emphatically they are not out. Nevertheless, our guess is that the crest of the fundamentalist wave has passed and that at least in the North the old denominations will continue to be the spiritual homes for men miles apart in their religious thinking.

NEITHER BAPTISTS NOR PRESBYTERIANS adopted any such stirring social creeds as that which somehow won official approval from the Congregationalists a year ago. (We have always wondered whether that conspicuous Congregationalist, Calvin Coolidge, ever read that creed and if so what he thought about it. Its progressive tendencies have not been manifest in any of his speeches.) The Baptist and Presbyterian cohorts stuck to the old moral issues such as prohibition—but that is news only to those trusting souls who thought that one Vare could swamp Volstead. What is news, and good news, is that both official conventions condemned compulsory military training in schools and colleges. This will be a real setback to the plans of the War Department and to the assorted patriots with old-style Prussian proclivities. The action of the Presbyterian Assembly was the more noteworthy because it involved a virtual about-face in the matter. By a snap vote when comparatively few delegates were on the floor, the assembly not only tabled a resolution denouncing compulsory training but indorsed the military-training camps. Then, on the last day of the assembly, the resolution condemning compulsory training was taken off the table and passed in a revised form almost without dissent. The New York papers reported the first action, but not the second!

THE EFFORT TO MILITARIZE the minds of American youth while still in high school or college is striking more and more snags. The Federal Council of Churches has just issued recommendations which say:

> That systematic and technical military training for youth of high-school age is to be deplored as foreign to the aims and ideals of our educational system.
>
> That civilian educational institutions should not make military training a required subject.

Thus the council takes a position not only against compulsory drill in either college or high school but even against the offering of voluntary military training in high schools as it is now conceived by the War Department. Almost simultaneously the Massachusetts Committee on Militarism in Education makes public a searching report on the goose-step in that State, showing that 19,000 boys, ranging from twelve to nineteen years of age, are taking military drill as part of their public-school course. Massachusetts is first among the States in the number of boys taking such drill; California comes second with a total of 8,000. Military drill is offered in twenty-three high schools in Massachusetts and is compulsory in eighteen of them. In Boston military training is compulsory not only in the high schools but it reaches down to 6,000 adolescents in the intermediate or ninth grade!

MILITARY TRAINING cannot legally be compulsory in Massachusetts, the committee points out, if parents or students are sufficiently opposed to it to take advantage of the General Laws of the State. These provide (Chapter 71, Section 3) that "no pupil shall be required to take any part in any military exercises if his parent or

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guardian is of any religious denomination conscientiously opposed to bearing arms, or is himself so opposed and the school committee is so notified in writing." The committee also notes that private schools like Groton, Milton Academy, and St. Marks do not have military drill. Thus the students of these schools, mostly the sons of well-to-do parents, are exempt from military training, while the children of the average citizen are subject to it. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with required training, maintains a staff of military instructors larger than in its English or mathematics department, offers students $210 a year to take non-compulsory advanced courses, and gives instruction in the use of poison gases for war purposes. The Massachusetts committee's appeal against compulsory drill is signed, among others, by Federal Judge George W. Anderson, Bishop William F. Anderson, President W. A. Neilson of Smith College, President Mary E. Woolley of Mt. Holyoke College, Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School, Dean David L. Edsall of the Harvard Medical School, Bliss Perry, and Katharine Lee Bates.

WE ARE INCLINED TO YAWN and turn to the sporting page whenever we see a newspaper story about the disarmament discussions at Geneva. The Preparatory Commission of the International Conference on Disarmament talked 70,000 words in eight days and then split up into subcommittees to find out what all the discussion was about. One committee was asked to give an answer to the question: What are armaments? Finding it impossible to answer that question they skipped to the next: What are peace-time armaments? Here the thunder broke loose. France and Italy wanted to count all the British and American hogs, wheat-fields, and oil-wells as armaments, but held that their own military reserves, ground out by universal compulsory military service, should not be so counted. The subcommittee agreed to leave outside of the discussion the millions of trained reserves, the fruitage of the conscription system, who constitute the backbone of militarism in Europe. This nullifies the efforts of the commission to reduce European land armaments. Germany is bound by the Treaty of Versailles not to build up a trained reserve; France and Italy will continue to make their whole citizenship into a reserve army. In the whole discussion there is only one ray of hope. The Japanese have suggested a regional agreement with the United States to limit competition in light cruisers. Such an agreement, even if only a by-product, would make the discussion at Geneva worth while.

LLOYD GEORGE AND ASQUITH are temperamentally as well as personally incompatible, and the story of their bickering is the story of the fall of the middle-of-the-road party in England. Lloyd George, who in 1922 fought an election as a sort of Tory-Liberal, has boxed the compass and is heading Left again as in his youth. His radical land program annoyed Asquith enough; his plain sympathy with the strikers widened the breach. And even if a temporary peace is patched up, the little remnant of the once great Liberal Party is driving toward Labor or toward Toryism, as temperament and circumstances dictate. Thus England returns to the two-party system, while half the Continent is driving toward one-party or even one-man dictatorships. Rumania has just gone through a farcical election, stage-managed by M. Bratianu; Poland has obediently elected General Pilsudski's puppet as president and is about to revise its constitution to please the general; Portugal has just had another military revolution; while in Spain, Greece, and Italy Rivera, Pangalos, and Mussolini are doing business as usual.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE was not made of or for rubber, but it stretches. President Monroe would never recognize his child as it is drawn today. He sought to prevent European governments from reestablishing dominion over Latin American countries, but his doctrine is used to give the United States a prior right to all the good things in this hemisphere. What if a British corporation has leased land from the Republic of Panama, even if the leasehold should include good rubber land and good harbors? The United Fruit Company owns the ports and railroads of the neighboring republic of Costa Rica; and other American corporations have far-reaching contracts with half a dozen other Latin American republics. The Monroe Doctrine was intended to help Latin America, not to put it under a Wall Street monopoly. If our financiers want the plums, let them get there first, rather than hide behind an historic policy which has nothing to do with their greeds and jealousies.

ATTORNEY GENERAL OTTINGER'S PROPOSAL to give to the Frontier Corporation 2,400,000 horsepower now belonging to the people of the State of New York has under public pressure suffered a check. It will be remembered that the Frontier Corporation is an alias for Mr. du Pont, Mr. Mellon, and the General Electric Company. The best minds of the Republican Party have sensed the difficulties of winning an election in the fall after a Republican Water-Power Commission had presented the Frontier Corporation with the last of the State's water-power. Such hearty generosity might prove difficult to explain to the voters of New York. Mr. Ottinger in consequence has been directed to let the Frontier Corporation pant until after election. In the words of the Republican New York *Herald Tribune:* "It is understood that the State Republican organization is endeavoring to call off any such plans, *at least until after election in November* [italics ours]. It was pointed out that the leases could be made after election before a Democratic governor could take office, in the event that the Democrats elected their candidate." Mum is the word for the present, but in the six weeks between election and January 1 slip the grab through! *The Nation* is well inured to cynicism among politicians, but for brazen gall this outdoes anything since Louis XIV.

ATTEMPTS TO INTERFERE with the freedom of the press, even when no question of radical or revolutionary ideas is raised, are far more common in this country than those who live in our great cities and witness the immunity of our powerful metropolitan dailies might suppose. The fortnightly Duluth *Rip-saw* having printed articles attacking the administration and character of certain city officials, they are trying to have it suppressed under a law passed last year enabling a judge to enjoin the publication of a "malicious, scandalous, and defamatory newspaper." We know nothing of the justice or injustice of the *Rip-saw's* criticisms. The point we would make is that if the charges are untrue, injured persons have ample protection in the ordinary laws against libel and slander, by which

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a transgressor after conviction by a jury may be fined or imprisoned, or—if proceeded against civilly—may have to pay damages. But the law of 1925 takes away the right of trial by jury and makes it possible for anybody to suppress a publication upon the flimsiest of charges provided he can find a judge sufficiently complaisant or crooked for his purposes. The press of Minnesota ought to wake up and demand repeal of this dangerous and unnecessary law.

NEITHER MRS. CATT nor Miss Sherwin nor any of the other delegates from the League of Women Voters to the tenth World Suffrage Congress at Paris has offered a valid excuse for the exclusion of the National Woman's Party. The Woman's Party may be mistaken in its policies; it may be tactless and aggressive in its tactics, it may make trouble and cause dissension. None the less it is an important body of active, devoted fighters, who have given years of tireless effort first to the winning of woman suffrage and recently to the cause of absolute sex equality. On every ground it is entitled to membership in the International Suffrage Alliance and participation in the congress. It was shut out because the League of Women Voters, exercising the privilege of membership, opposed its admission on the ground that the Woman's Party is against protective industrial legislation for women. The congress sustained the objection of the league, and also, by a small margin, voted down an industrial equality resolution. This action does no credit to the international organization or to the league; if the representatives of the National Woman's Party are ineligible on account of their belief in industrial equality, so are the 78 delegates who supported the resolution.

THE WHOLE WORLD has heard of Sacco and Vanzetti, two Italian radicals condemned to death in an atmosphere of hysteria for a murder which they probably did not commit. It is barely possible that new evidence in the hands of the defense may still win an opportunity for retrial. We hope that the incidental fireworks will not prejudice the case. A bomb explodes in the house of the brother-in-law of a woman who had testified against the two Italians; the newspapers immediately shout, without a scintilla of evidence, that it is an "act of revenge" by their friends! In Buenos Aires and Paris radicals who have heard that two innocent comrades stand condemned to die parade in sympathy; a bomb explodes in front of the American legation in Montevideo. None of these events has any bearing on the innocence or guilt of the condemned men in Massachusetts. The judge who decides their fate ought to proceed unmoved by like or dislike of such acts; if American justice is more than a weapon of class hate he will.

JACOB J. TUTUN of Chelsea, Massachusetts, may become a citizen, and with his victory in the courts a long injustice to many honest aliens should end. A district court in Boston denied him citizenship, holding that his claim of exemption as an alien from military service in this country during the war proved that he was not "attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good happiness and order of the same." Other courts have acted on the same principle. Few aliens, however, have had the energy and friends to fight this extralegal practice. Tutun, aided by the colored former federal district attorney, William H. Lewis of Boston, and by Louis Marshall of New York, carried his case through to the Supreme Court of the United States and back to the United States Circuit Court of Appeal in Boston, which ruled that while Congress had barred from citizenship aliens who had sought exemption by withdrawing their declarations of intention to become citizens, barring of non-declarant aliens was "unwarranted by law." The court sanely concluded:

> While a wide discretion is lodged in the judge who hears a petition for naturalization, this discretion cannot be exercised arbitrarily or in a manner which adds to the requirements contained in the act, which must be liberally construed in favor of the petitioner.

THAT THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE FLAPPER is a good deal older than her name has just been demonstrated again by the discovery by the New York *Times* that a nineteen-year-old miss is the author of the successful literary hoax, "The Diary of a Young Lady of Fashion, 1764-65." Miss Magdalen King-Hall, the author, was sufficiently ignorant of certain historical details to warn the instructed reader, but she was able, by being herself, to be sufficiently like an eighteenth-century flapper to fool many, including the reviewer of the New York *Times* itself, who gravely conceded that even though her book had not "any of the importance that attaches to such a monumental record as was left behind by Pepys" the author did "throw the beams of her candle here and there on the features of her time." We are glad to remember that our own reviewer called the work "obviously a hoax," but we are willing to wager that such an eighteenth-century girl as it purports to describe would find herself quite at home if transported to this twentieth-century America, where flappers are sometimes supposed to constitute a new species. Miss King-Hall's antiquarianism was sometimes at fault, but her psychology was instinctively right.

DR. WALLACE BUTTRICK, secretary of the General Education Board, was one of the remarkable group of men, now nearly all gone, who at the turn of the century threw themselves into the work of reviving education in the South, first through the Southern Education Board which they created and later through the General Education Board with its huge endowment of Rockefeller millions. Deciding to work with and through the Southern States—chiefly, alas, with and for the whites—and to respect all prejudices, they threw themselves into their tasks with evangelistic fervor under the leadership of the saintly and rarely unselfish Robert C. Ogden. The work goes on with tremendous momentum. In comparison to 1900, huge sums are now being raised in the Southern States for white public education, and the credit for this goes to the pioneers —besides Mr. Ogden and Dr. Buttrick, to W. H. Baldwin, Jr., then president of the Long Island Railroad; Dr. Charles D. McIver of North Carolina, Walter H. Page, Albert Shaw, President Alderman of the University of Virginia, and others. No one who ever accompanied Mr. Ogden to the annual conference for Southern education will forget these "excursions into ennobling experiences," to use a phrase of Dr. Eliot. On these and all occasions Dr. Buttrick shone because of his forthright, rugged personality, his sparkling good humor, his keen understanding of human nature and of Southern psychology, his efficiency and ability, and his vision, which, though it had its limitations, was usually what is called statesmanlike.

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The Richest Country on Earth

THE Federal Trade Commission, in response to a Senate resolution, has just released a report on the national wealth and the national income. The conclusions have taken some years to compile. It is probably the most exhaustive study of the kind ever made. The commission finds that in the year 1922—the last year for which figures were available—we were worth as a nation 353 billions of dollars. A rough calculation, based on a 1914 study by Sir George Paish, makes it evident that the national wealth of England could not have exceeded 200 billions in 1922 (and probably was less), while that of France could not have exceeded 125 billions. It is safe to assume that we were, in dollars, far richer than France and England combined. Another rough calculation based on the commission's study of the increase in our national wealth from 1912 to 1922, duly deflated for changes in the value of the dollar, makes it appear that an inventory of the wealth of America today would run close to 400 billions. We have been bounding forward since 1922; France and England have been standing still. Our margin over their combined wealth in 1926 is probably enough to cover most of Europe outside of Germany and Russia. We are indeed the richest country on earth, the richest nation ever heard of. In dollars.

The commission divides the 1922 total into the following main classes:

Value of land and national resources	122	billions
Real estate improvements	108	"
Tangible personalty and movables	123	"
Total	353	"

Or to put it another way:

Agricultural wealth	64	billions
Manufacturing and mining	49	"
Railroad and public utilities	46	"
Government property (federal, State, and local)	42	"
Houses, furniture, and personal effects	88	"
All other (wholesale and retail trade, etc.)	64	"
Total	353	"

The commission's inventory does not include, and properly so, any valuation for stocks, bonds, or other credit instruments. Only tangible, physical properties are assessed. Of the total roughly a third is in land and the natural resources on or under the surface of the land; a third in the permanent structures—homes, factories, railroads, highways—which men have built on the land; a third in equipment, inventories, personal effects which can be moved around. It is interesting to note in the second classification that the government still retains title to 42 billions, or about one-twelfth of the national wealth. It is also interesting to note that while the valuation of all public schools and colleges is placed at 3 billions, private schools and colleges are assessed at 3.6 billions. Private benevolent funds and foundations are also valued at 3.6 billions. The wealthiest church in the country is the Roman Catholic with total properties of $800,000,000.

The total wealth of corporations was estimated at 102 billions of tangible property, of which manufacturing corporations accounted for 33.7 billions, transportation and public-utility corporations 27.3 billions. Steam railroads comprise 17.3 billions of the latter total. The commission finds that in 1922 6 corporations controlled one-third of a water-power in the country, 8 corporations controlled ov three-fourths of the anthracite deposits, 30 corporatio controlled over one-third of "immediate bituminous depo its," 2 corporations controlled over half the iron ore, 4 co porations controlled nearly half of all copper deposits, corporations controlled over one-eighth of the petroleum r serves. The commission goes so far as to say that the figures "indicate a distinct concentration of control in t hands of a few large companies." One suspects that a li study made in 1926 would be even more distinct. The have been many merry mergers since 1922.

Professor T. N. Carver and his optimistic theory th workers are turning capitalist receive little support fro the commission. The total value of employee holdings corporation stock is less than 2 per cent of the comm and preferred outstanding.

How is this total national wealth distributed amo individuals? A special study is made covering proba records in 24 counties in 13 states the country over. T counties were selected to give a cross-section of typical cit town, and rural life. In the 185,000 estates examined, taling over $200,000,000, it was found that 1 per cent those who died left 59 per cent of the wealth; and that per cent owned more than 90 per cent of the wealth. T commission thus checks within 1 per cent the estimate the Commission on Industrial Relations in 1916, when was declared that 1 per cent of the people of America own 60 per cent of the wealth. Of the estates which went probate, only one-third showed real estate directly owne which means that far fewer than a third left a home live in. A nation of tenants we are indeed.

On the basis of the 1923 dollar the commission co putes the national income as follows:

1918	59.0	billions	
1919	61.3	"	
1920	61.3	"	
1921	50.6	"	(depression yea
1922	63.0	"	
1923	69.8	"	

We give in the above summary only a few of the fi ures which pack the commission's report. They are inte esting figures; they deserve the attention of every citize But they tell us little about the real wealth as against t dollar wealth of America. The need is great to supplem such studies as the commission has made with inventori showing our increases and decreases in tangible goods, pa ticularly useful consumable goods. Land values doubtle inflate the national ego, but for the wayfaring citizen th are more of a liability than an asset. How many of o dwelling houses duly valued on the assessor's sheets a fit for human beings to live in? Ask Governor Smit How much of the goods on our shelves is wealth rath than illth, sound and beautiful rather than shoddy a vicious? What is the percentage of idle capacity in o vast industrial plant? We may be the richest nation earth in dollars, but our wealth in terms of the good li remains largely unexplored. Meanwhile the fact that per cent of those who die leave 59 per cent of all proper bequeathed keeps us from any excess of optimism.

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The Brookhart Victory

WE rejoice exceeding well over the success in the Iowa Republican primary of Smith W. Brookhart. obbed of his seat in the Senate by order of the President, nd contrary to the facts in the case, because of his outpoken criticism of Mr. Coolidge in the last Presidential ampaign and his practical support of Senator La Follette, Ir. Brookhart was fortunate in being able to submit his ase immediately to the electors who had previously reurned him to Washington. This rarely happens under our lectoral system; he might have had to wait two or four ears for vindication. Instead, he went direct from the enate chamber to his campaign and has now been triumphantly upheld by his fellow-citizens. It is at once a riumph for Mr. Brookhart and a stinging rebuke for the 'resident—the worst of a long series. Knowing the facts, he Iowa electorate has sent back to Washington a man /ho will oppose the President at every turn, who voted or farm relief, against the debt settlements, against the Vorld Court, and most of the issues that the President esired enacted. He therefore has a commission from his tate to increase his opposition to the President.

What makes the fight the more remarkable is that the /et-and-dry issue did not enter into it and that Senator ummins himself said very little about President Coolge. A request that he send out a day or two before he election a ringing declaration that a vote for Cummins s a vote for Coolidge was hastily frowned upon by his ampaign headquarters. In all the campaign literature /ith which he deluged the State Mr. Coolidge was only ientioned once. Mr. Brookhart paid his respects to both Ir. Coolidge and Mr. Cummins throughout the fight. He id not go so far as one prominent Iowa lawyer, who delared a week before the election that Senator Cummins /as senile and inefficient, but Mr. Brookhart attacked him s a Senator subservient to Wall Street interests and to he influences opposed to justice for the farmer.

Thus does the whirligig of time have its revenges. ighteen years ago when Albert B. Cummins entered the enate at the age of 58, at the height of his powers, he /as looked upon as a Lochinvar come out of the West to ttack those same predatory interests. He was a dangerus man, for he was a progressive who had extreme ideas n the curbing of corporations, and his arrival in the enate was heralded as one of the signs of the awakening f the American people, at least of the West, which flowred in the Roosevelt Administration. Gradually, howver, Senator Cummins has gone the way of so many men /ho have come to Washington as ardent reformers, and, ither because of the influence of their surroundings or beause of an inherent lack of principle, have changed from he radicals of yesterday to the conservatives of today. Ie is still an excellent lawyer and an upright man; it is ot necessary to believe that he has consciously gone over o those whom he once called the enemy in order to realize hat the time had come to substitute for this veteran a ounger, bolder man.

Mr. Brookhart will bring back to the Senate those ghting qualities which have made his reputation. His mitations are also in part his strength. Without laying laim to being a cultured man he has a great deal of nowledge, and he has that shrewdness and ability to go o the heart of men and issues which is so often characteristic of those who have been close to the soil. It is useful, too, to have in the Senate a man so obsessed with the significance of the cooperative movement. His return strengthens the progressive group.

We must not lose sight of the fact that this vote is really part of an agrarian revolt. It was the Iowa farmers who sent Brookhart back, and it is in considerable part due to their outraged feelings at the failure of the President and the Congress to do anything for their relief. We in the East must not be mistaken about the situation. The farmers are aroused, and aroused against Mr. Coolidge. A shrewd political observer who has just returned from southern Illinois reports that the farmers there are seething with unrest and wish it known that their vote against Senator McKinley was a vote against Mr. Coolidge. From further West come similar reports. There is a genuine depression in agriculture and it is spreading through the East. Neither Congress nor the President has really grappled with this fundamental American problem. Senator Brookhart's views were expressed in his article The Plight of the Farmer in *The Nation* for April 7. We believe that price-fixing and government cornering of the market are economically unsound, defensible only as temporary measures in a crisis. What is needed is the abolition of the tariff and a nation-wide cooperative movement to bring us in that field up to the level of Russia. No half-way measures will carry us far. More than that, time presses. This is the lesson of the Brookhart success.

Germany Experiments in Democracy

TORMENTED Germany faces a new decision on June 20: Shall she confiscate the property of her princes? It would have been easier for her had the revolutionaries of 1918 been more revolutionary and solved by force the question which she is now painfully struggling to settle by ballots. The orderly German psychology barred the simple procedures by which some countries to the east of her divided up the great royal estates, vestiges of feudalism, and left her to work things out by halting processes of parliamentary democracy. So that a question which seemed simple enough to an unsophisticated peasant mind is now tangled up in legalistic subtleties and political antagonisms, and the German voters who might have voted on nationalization of the princes' property stand befuddled by a mass of propaganda which presents the question as one of Monarchism *vs.* the Republic, or Law and Order *vs.* Confiscation.

It is in Prussia that the question is most acute. Except in Prussia and Gotha compromises have been worked out, or the questions settled in the courts. But the ex-Kaiser and the Prussian princes were not satisfied with the half-pie that was offered them. The German Government had restored some of the most valuable Hohenzollern properties, among them the lovely estate of Rominten, together with substantial pensions. Wilhelm wanted almost all that he had ever had—and he once had seventy-three palaces and lodges, beautiful art galleries, vast fields and forests. Altogether the demands of the princes totaled a million acres of land or 2½ billion gold marks in money. When Wilhelm's demands became known there was a revulsion. The Government did nothing, but the Communists proposed to make use of the forgotten initiative-and-referendum clauses of

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the German constitution and started a demand for total expropriation.

The German constitution provides for a popular vote upon a measure if one-tenth of the qualified voters so petition. There are 40,000,000 voters in Germany. The Communists, who were joined by the Social Democrats and some Democrats, undertook, doubtful of success, to secure the needed 4 million signatures. On April 14 it was announced that 12,523,939 had signed the lists! The extent of the victory amazed the most sanguine sponsors of the movement. Thereafter the referendum could be avoided only if the Reichstag should pass the proposed measure. But it rejected not only the measure for total confiscation but every suggested compromise. The national plebiscite became inevitable. Constitutionally such a referendum can win only if carried by a majority in a vote in which at least half the total number of voters vote. Twenty million favorable votes are thus required—for the Right, knowing that it cannot win a majority, is urging its supporters to abstain from voting at all. And it is doubtful whether twenty million favorable votes can be obtained. Chancellor Marx, running for President as the Republican candidate in April, 1925, obtained only 13,751,615 votes, and Hindenburg, who defeated him, only 14,655,766.

If the referendum fails the Monarchists will sing songs of victory. If it should win, the Communists would claim the glory. Both would be half right, and neither wholly justified. The Catholic Center, a republican party, is against the referendum; the Democrats are divided. Even the Social Democrats are unenthusiastic. For the plebiscite involves more than a form of government; it strikes at the sanctity of private property. If the property of princes can be wiped out by popular vote, these middle parties wonder, is the property of industrial magnates any safer? The cry of Republic *vs.* Monarchy resounds from every street corner, but the fear of confiscation speaks louder to the man of property at home. Many sincere Republicans, too, who favor partial confiscation, feel that to leave the princes, untrained as they are to earn a living, pfennigless would be unfair and would also tend to make popular martyrs of them.

Defeat in this referendum, then, would not really be defeat for the republic. Fifteen million votes in favor would not win the poll, but it would mark a gain for the progressive forces in Germany. There are signs that the tide of reaction, so long rising in Germany, may be beginning to ebb. Possibly the signs of change in the Allied attitude, the growing foreign recognition of Germany as a self-respecting nation (which feebly registered itself in the Locarno treaties) are beginning to liberate Germans from the desperate depression in which they have been laboring. Victory in the referendum, on the other hand, would indicate a tremendous change, a new trend of progress in the heart of Europe.

In any case the world may well study this referendum as an experiment in direct democracy. Fascism and dictatorships, open and disguised, are having their day among the political wise men. We are being told that the people can never concentrate upon an issue, that they do better to leave their problems to experts and specialists and assorted varieties of strong men. Germany's plebiscite is no epoch-making revival of democracy, but it is at least a sign that the experiment of democracy has not been exhausted. It may flower most where its blossoming was least expected.

The Land of the Lazy

THE sixty-horse-power, steel-blue-eyed business mai with stenographers at his elbows and a chewed ciga between his teeth is not, perhaps, the perfect symbol o America. Readers of certain magazines have been led t suppose he is, and the legend has stolen abroad that we ar all like this. But there is another symbolic American, on of equal importance, and one whom in these days of th new gospel we are likely to forget all about. He sits on soapbox in some far-away country store, back in a corne where the mingled dust and sunlight of the crossroad never comes. If he has not tilted his rickety chair agains the wall he is slouching down upon its seat, and probably h has not expended the energy necessary to lift one kne across another. If he is not completely silent he is talkin in a drawl; and his talk is mostly in contempt of those me and women of the place who have notably got on. He know as well as the author of Ecclesiastes ever did the futility o human effort. He will go home after a while to a casua meal. When the sunlight does strike in, it reveals in him pair of dim and lazy and perhaps attractive eyes.

For all anyone knows this is the man who settle America. Social historians would do well to study hi carefully, determining the precise extent to which he is th full expression of the original impulse to found here a serie of commonwealths in which life would not be so hard as had been for centuries in Europe. We are proud of th enterprise in our ancestors which drove them to pick up and leave; we seldom turn the medal over and see written there: "They ran away from difficulties." They did do that, among other things, and the suspicion arises now and then that most of us have been doing it ever since. We like to think of ourselves as heroic workers. We have erected a gospel of pep and ginger; our ideal is to be head over heels in business day and night. All this, however, may be our way of escaping the admission—if it needs to be made—that we are a lazy people. Not merely do we so value comfort that we have stuffed our houses with furnaces, bathrooms, electric buttons, vacuum sweepers, dumbwaiters, clothes chutes, and hundreds of labor-saving devices. We do not work as hard as we pretend to, or as we like to believe we do. Our schools and colleges, compared with similar institutions in France, are loafing-places. Not only students but parents would cry out at the imposition of a scholastic discipline such as young men and women sweat under in either France or Germany. Oxford and Cambridge sound careless enough, yet the better students and the famous scholars there punish themselves with tasks which most of us can never hope to understand. It is a commonplace among European professors that an American exchange student will be ill-prepared. Our laborers on farms and in factories are put to shame by newly arrived Poles, Italians, and Swedes who know no better than to dig and drill their heads off. Never mind. In another generation these foreigners will be Americanized—they will have learned to take it easy.

We do not admit as much. Walt Whitman did not become popular by announcing that he would loaf and invite his soul. If Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer did become popular, they were only boys, and the assumption doubtless has been that they grew up to be Babbitts. But Babbitt was a lazy man. He could not and he would not think.

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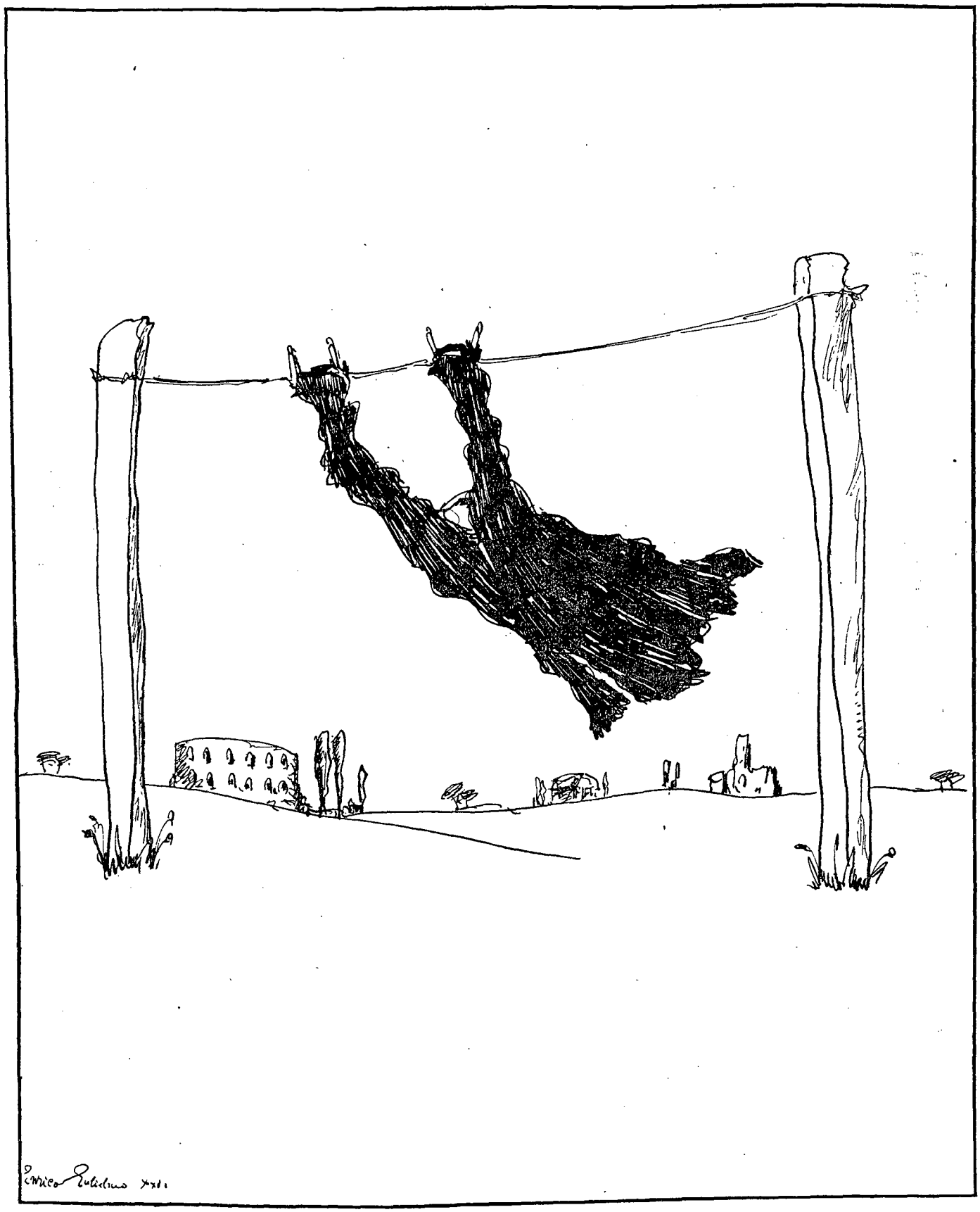
Which Is It?



Word has come from Washington that Secretary Kellogg continues to be deeply worried about the situation in Italy. The Nation, *ever eager to help the Administration, wishes to make itself useful in this crisis and hereby offers 5 (five) lire in Albanian currency to that subscriber who can definitely state whether the famous Fascist Emblem, which has recently been making its appearance on our own free shores, is a patriotic uniform or just a plain dirty shirt.*

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Liberty and the Roman Catholic Church

I. The Catholic Position

By JOHN A. RYAN

THE liberal elements of the American people have quite generally and quite properly denounced the destruction of Italian liberties by Mussolini. With a very few honorable exceptions, however, they have taken a different attitude toward similar assaults upon liberty by the existing Government of Mexico. Concerning the latter situation the majority of American liberals have been silent. A minority has expressed sympathy with the Mexican Government's denial of fundamental liberties, as a justifiable retaliation for the assumed opposition of the Mexican clergy to social and economic progress. Underlying the attitude of American liberals toward the present Mexican persecution there are, consequently, two assumptions, one of principle, the other of fact. Before dealing with these assumptions let me summarize briefly the provisions of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 which violate fundamental human rights and liberties, as these are understood and guaranteed in our own federal and State constitutions. These prohibitions are all found in Articles III, V, XXIV, XXVII, and CXXX of that document.

1. *Religion.* The ownership of churches is vested in the federal government, which reserves the right to determine which of them shall continue to be used as churches. No new place of worship may be dedicated without the permission of the government. All acts of religion must be performed within the churches. Only civil marriages are valid. The legislatures of the various states can determine the maximum number of ministers of any creed. Under this provision one Mexican state has decreed that there shall be only one priest for each 30,000 inhabitants. In the United States the ratio is about one to 700 among Catholics and one to a very much smaller number among Protestants. Only Mexicans by birth can function as ministers of religion.

2. *Education.* No religious corporation or clergyman may establish or conduct primary schools or institutions for scientific research or the diffusion of knowledge. All private schools are subject to official supervision. Under this constitutional provision, the Minister of Education for Mexico has recently issued regulations which prohibit in private schools the existence of altars or chapels or statues or any other objects of a religious nature, and which forbid any spiritual exercises or religious instruction.

3. *Association.* No religious corporation or minister may establish or conduct institutions for the sick and needy or for mutual aid. Churches are not juridical persons and have no corporate rights. Religious vows, monastic orders, and convents are illegal.

4. *Property.* Religious corporations are prohibited from owning not only churches, but bishops' residences, parochial rectories, seminaries, orphan asylums, collegiate establishments, convents, or any other building used for the purpose of a religious creed, or any kind of real estate. No clergyman may inherit property from religious or charitable associations, or from ministers of the same religious creed, or from any private individual to whom he is not related within the fourth degree of kinship.

5. *Speech and writing.* No minister of religion may criticize the fundamental laws, the authorities, or the government. No religious periodical may comment upon political affairs or publish anything concerning the political authorities of the country.

6. *Political action.* No clergyman may exercise the electoral franchise or hold public office or take part in a political assembly.

7. *Due process of law.* Presumptive proof that a church is holding property contrary to the law is sufficient for conviction. No person charged with violating any of the foregoing provisions of the Mexican Constitution may be accorded the right of trial by jury.

The first assumption underlying the tacit or explicit approval given by American liberals to these astounding violations of liberty is that they are excused, if not justified, by the conduct of the Mexican church. In other words it is assumed that fundamental liberties may properly be destroyed in Mexico, although a similar action by State or federal government in the United States would be intolerable and unthinkable. Obviously this is inconsistent with the principles of liberalism. All the rights which are denied in the foregoing summary are guaranteed without qualification in our American bills of rights. American liberals who attempt to justify the denial of these rights in Mexico seem to agree with the Constituent Association of Mexico which, in *The Nation* of March 31, excused the prohibition of freedom of education on the ground that the clergy had used their schools as "a weapon of propaganda against national institutions." That is precisely the argument used by those who brought about the enactment of the unconstitutional Oregon anti-private school law. If it were valid it would justify the suppression of every form of freedom of teaching and freedom of speech which was displeasing to any government or any political administration.

The assumption of fact relied upon by American liberals who defend those tyrannical provisions of the Mexican Constitution is supported by no specific evidence. No instances are cited of opposition by the Mexican church or clergy to political or social or economic reform measures undertaken by the Mexican Government. Such opposition, if it amounted to anything, would have to be manifested either in the form of pastoral letters by bishops or addresses by priests or organization of armed forces under the direction of bishops and priests. So far as I know, nothing in the nature of physical opposition has ever been charged against the Mexican clergy. Nor have I seen any pastoral letter or statement by a priest cited in proof of the general charge that the Mexican clergy have opposed the social or political reforms of the Mexican Government during the last half century. Even if the clergy had offered opposition in speech or writing it would not, on the principles of liber-

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ism, justify governmental denial of fundamental liberties.

The provisions of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 concerning the distribution of the great landed estates and the welfare of labor are, in the main, excellent. But their realization in Mexican society will not be helped by the present persecution of religion. On grounds of expediency, as well as on grounds of principle, American liberals should deplore and denounce those provisions of the Mexican Constitution which are summarized in the body of this article.

II. The Mexican Position

By JOSE MIGUEL BEJARANO

AN intimate knowledge of the history of Mexico and of the psychology and social evolution of the Mexican people and the ability to divest oneself of the natural tendency to gauge Mexican problems by American standards are essential in order to understand the situation prevailing in that country, particularly the present conflict between the Church and the People, which is nothing but the continuation of a state of affairs existing since 1521 when the Spaniards under the lead of Cortes conquered the Empire of Moctezuma.

The Mexicans then had their own religion, their highly developed arts, their gods, and their temples, and although some time elapsed before a Pope decided that the conquered people were human beings and had a soul, the first act of the Spanish soldiers and the Spanish priests upon taking possession of the land was to demolish the magnificent places of worship in the Mexican towns and to erect upon the debris Roman churches. The idols and icons were destroyed, the religious monuments razed to their foundations, and the Mexicans baptized en masse.

The church became the center of the life of the communities, and the church controlled all the activities of the people. With forced labor, temples were erected in every village; with forced contributions, they were enriched with magnificent ornamentations. The church was the extractor of most of the gold and silver that went to Rome and to Spain: $27,000,000 in gold in one year; $3,000,000,000 worth of silver and other metals in three centuries. Ten per cent of the product of the land was for the church; the ground had to be blessed by a priest before sowing; processions and religious services were organized to pray for rain in times of drought. Even domestic animals had to be taken to the church once a year to be blessed. The priest was pastor, physician, chief of police, school-teacher, and judge.

On November 4, 1571, only fifty years after Mexico had been occupied by Cortes, the infamous tribunal of the Holy Inquisition was established in Mexico. Luis Gonzalez Obregon, in "Mexico Viejo," writes: "From that day terror began among the good inhabitants. . . . Fear swept over all. . . . No one lived at ease; secret denunciation threatened every one; unfortunate was he who gave grounds for the least suspicion, and unhappy was he who merely neglected to wear a rosary." In one day alone, on April 11, 1649, one hundred and seven persons were burned alive or tortured to death by the Inquisition in Mexico, most of them simply because they were accused of professing the Jewish faith. Under this system the masses in Mexico developed into a condition of the utmost fanaticism and bigotry, while the church became the greatest power in the country. Possessor of practically all the wealth in the land, controlling the conscience of the people, even the civil authorities had to submit to the clergy.

Perhaps the most progressive monarch that Spain ever had was Charles III. Because the Jesuits were hindering his work he ordered them expelled from Spain and his dominions in 1767 and confiscated their property. President Lerdo de Tejada similarly expelled foreign Jesuits from Mexico in 1874. But the first move toward the attachment of church property in Mexico took place as early as July 4, 1822, when it was decided to occupy the buildings of the Philippine Missions and to confiscate the funds for religious activities outside of Mexico. Then, on June 25, 1856, the disentailing of church property was decreed, and this, following the law of November 23, 1855, canceling the special privileges enjoyed by priests who before were above the law, precipitated the most bloody religious war in the history of Mexico.

Presidents Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada and Benito Juarez are undoubtedly the most conspicuous figures in the social reform of Mexico which culminated in the adoption of the Reform Laws in Veracruz in 1859, two years after the adoption of the Constitution of 1857. These laws provided for the suppression of all monastic institutions, allowing only secular priests. In this same year civil marriage was established, cemeteries were secularized or taken away from church control, religious holidays were abolished, and government officials were forbidden to take part in religious ceremonies. Priests, when in public places except churches, were obliged to wear civil garb.

During the regime of Porfirio Diaz, who began as a liberal and gradually became a bitter reactionary, nearly all the laws curtailing the activities of the church became ineffective. Convents and monasteries were reestablished throughout the country; the pastor in the farm districts and the small villages became again the instrument of the landowners and the industrial magnates. When the revolution [of 1910] came, the church, as one of the agencies of the old regime, was naturally considered an enemy by the new government; and the revolution was similarly opposed by the church, which continued to side with the reactionary element. But practically no new legislation was issued in connection with the church in Mexico, except a law, adopted in 1917, prohibiting religious corporations or ministers of any creed from establishing or directing primary schools, and the regulation that in order to exercise the activities of priestcraft a person must be Mexican by birth.

The existing laws were not rigidly enforced, and might have been permitted to lapse had the church confined its activities to the religious field. But the patience of the Mexican Government was worn thin by the continued political activities of the clergy. It was the defiant and open opposition of the Archbishop of Mexico City, who issued a pastoral letter urging general resistance to the organic laws of Mexico, that finally caused the radical element of the country virtually to force the Calles Administration to

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enforce the laws by expelling foreign priests and closing convents and church schools. This manifesto found an echo in many parts of Mexico. While some bishops have protested their allegiance to the laws of the country, a number have openly and defiantly opposed the Government. Bishop Zarate, of Huejutla, when arraigned on account of his subversive appeals to his flock, declared that civil courts had no right to try him and that he would be subject only to a church tribunal. Other bishops, including the Bishop of Sonora, and quite a number of dignitaries of the lower ranks, have followed suit, forcing President Calles to address an open letter to Mgr. Mora, Archbishop of Mexico, on June 3, confirming the Government's position and emphasizing his determination rigidly to enforce the laws in regard to the church as long as the church continues to adhere to its policy of opposition and rebellion.

The Negro-Art Hokum

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

NEGRO art "made in America" is as non-existent as the widely advertised profundity of Cal Coolidge, the "seven years of progress" of Mayor Hylan, or the reported sophistication of New Yorkers. Negro art there has been, is, and will be among the numerous black nations of Africa; but to suggest the possibility of any such development among the ten million colored people in this republic is self-evident foolishness. Eager apostles from Greenwich Village, Harlem, and environs proclaimed a great renaissance of Negro art just around the corner waiting to be ushered on the scene by those whose hobby is taking races, nations, peoples, and movements under their wing. New art forms expressing the "peculiar" psychology of the Negro were about to flood the market. In short, the art of Homo Africanus was about to electrify the waiting world. Skeptics patiently waited. They still wait.

True, from dark-skinned sources have come those slave songs based on Protestant hymns and Biblical texts known as the spirituals, work songs and secular songs of sorrow and tough luck known as the blues, that outgrowth of ragtime known as jazz (in the development of which whites have assisted), and the Charleston, an eccentric dance invented by the gamins around the public market-place in Charleston, S. C. No one can or does deny this. But these are contributions of a caste in a certain section of the country. They are foreign to Northern Negroes, West Indian Negroes, and African Negroes. They are no more expressive or characteristic of the Negro race than the music and dancing of the Appalachian highlanders or the Dalmatian peasantry are expressive or characteristic of the Caucasian race. If one wishes to speak of the musical contributions of the peasantry of the South, very well. Any group under similar circumstances would have produced something similar. It is merely a coincidence that this peasant class happens to be of a darker hue than the other inhabitants of the land. One recalls the remarkable likeness of the minor strains of the Russian mujiks to those of the Southern Negro.

As for the literature, painting, and sculpture of Aframericans—such as there is—it is identical in kind with the literature, painting, and sculpture of white Americans: that is, it shows more or less evidence of European influence. In the field of drama little of any merit has been written by and about Negroes that could not have been written by whites. The dean of the Aframerican literati is W. E. B. Du Bois, a product of Harvard and German universities; the foremost Aframerican sculptor is Meta Warwick Fuller, a graduate of leading American art schools and former student of Rodin; while the most noted Aframerican painter, Henry Ossawa Tanner, is dean of American painters in Paris and has been decorated by the French Government. Now the work of these artists is no more "expressive of the Negro soul"—as the gushers put it—than are the scribblings of Octavus Cohen or Hugh Wiley.

This, of course, is easily understood if one stops to realize that the Aframerican is merely a lampblacked Anglo-Saxon. If the European immigrant after two or three generations of exposure to our schools, politics, advertising, moral crusades, and restaurants becomes indistinguishable from the mass of Americans of the older stock (despite the influence of the foreign-language press), how much truer must it be of the sons of Ham who have bee subjected to what the uplifters call Americanism for tl_ last three hundred years. Aside from his color, which ranges from very dark brown to pink, your American Negro is just plain American. Negroes and whites from the same localities in this country talk, think, and act about the same. Because a few writers with a paucity of themes have seized upon imbecilities of the Negro rustics and clowns and palmed them off as authentic and characteristic Aframerican behavior, the common notion that the black American is so "different" from his white neighbor has gained wide currency. The mere mention of the word "Negro" conjures up in the average white American's mind a composite stereotype of Bert Williams, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Tom, Jack Johnson, Florian Slappey, and the various monstrosities scrawled by the cartoonists. Your average Aframerican no more resembles this stereotype than the average American resembles a composite of Andy Gump, Jim Jeffries, and a cartoon by Rube Goldberg.

Again, the Aframerican is subject to the same economic and social forces that mold the actions and thoughts of the white Americans. He is not living in a different world as some whites and a few Negroes would have us believe. When the jangling of his Connecticut alarm clock gets him out of his Grand Rapids bed to a breakfast similar to that eaten by his white brother across the street; when he toils at the same or similar work in mills, mines, factories, and commerce alongside the descendants of Spartacus, Robin Hood, and Erik the Red; when he wears similar clothing and speaks the same language with the same degree of perfection; when he reads the same Bible and belongs to the Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, or Catholic church; when his fraternal affiliations also include the Elks, Masons, and Knights of Pythias; when he gets the same or similar schooling, lives in the same kind of houses, owns the same makes of cars (or rides in them), and nightly sees the same Hollywood version of life on the screen; when he smokes the same brands of tobacco and avidly peruses the same puerile periodicals; in short, when

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he responds to the same political, social, moral, and economic stimuli in precisely the same manner as his white neighbor, it is sheer nonsense to talk about "racial differences" as between the American black man and the American white man. Glance over a Negro newspaper (it is printed in good Americanese) and you will find the usual quota of crime news, scandal, personals, and uplift to be found in the average white newspaper—which, by the way, is more widely read by the Negroes than is the Negro press. In order to satisfy the cravings of an inferiority complex engendered by the colorphobia of the mob, the readers of the Negro newspapers are given a slight dash of racialistic seasoning. In the homes of the black and white Americans of the same cultural and economic level one finds similar furniture, literature, and conversation. How, then, can the black American be expected to produce art and literature dissimilar to that of the white American?

Consider Coleridge-Taylor, Edward Wilmot Blyden, and Claude McKay, the Englishmen; Pushkin, the Russian; Bridgewater, the Pole; Antar, the Arabian; Latino, the Spaniard; Dumas, *père* and *fils*, the Frenchmen; and Paul Laurence Dunbar, Charles W. Chestnut, and James Weldon Johnson, the Americans. All Negroes; yet their work shows the impress of nationality rather than race. They all reveal the psychology and culture of their environment—their color is incidental. Why should Negro artists of America vary from the national artistic norm when Negro artists in other countries have not done so? If we can foresee what kind of white citizens will inhabit this neck of the woods in the next generation by studying the sort of education and environment the children are exposed to now, it should not be difficult to reason that the adults of today are what they are because of the education and environment they were exposed to a generation ago. And that education and environment were about the same for blacks and whites. One contemplates the popularity of the Negro-art hokum and murmurs, "How come?"

This nonsense is probably the last stand of the old myth palmed off by Negrophobists for all these many years, and recently rehashed by the sainted Harding, that there are "fundamental, eternal, and inescapable differences" between white and black Americans. That there are Negroes who will lend this myth a helping hand need occasion no surprise. It has been broadcast all over the world by the vociferous scions of slaveholders, "scientists" like Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, and the patriots who flood the treasury of the Ku Klux Klan; and is believed, even today, by the majority of free, white citizens. On this baseless premise, so flattering to the white mob, that the blackamoor is inferior and fundamentally different, is erected the postulate that he must needs be peculiar; and when he attempts to portray life through the medium of art, it must of necessity be a peculiar art. While such reasoning may seem conclusive to the majority of Americans, it must be rejected with a loud guffaw by intelligent people.

[*An opposing view on the subject of Negro art will be presented by Lanston Hughes in next week's issue.*]

The British General Strike

By HAROLD J. LASKI

I

London, May 19

I HAVE already recorded in your pages the fact that at one o'clock on the morning of May 3 the Baldwin Cabinet broke off negotiations—at a most promising stage—with the Trade Union Council. The occasion was a trumpery and entirely unofficial incident in the office of the *Daily Mail* which the council was given neither opportunity to repudiate nor time to investigate. That day was passed in a conciliatory debate in the House of Commons where everyone made gestures of peace without any attempt being made to abandon points of punctilio and get back to the real problem of the mines. The strike, accordingly, began at midnight on May 3, and continued until the morning of May 12, when it was called off unconditionally in at least a formal sense.

It was astonishingly complete and orderly. The men everywhere responded with magnificent loyalty to the call of their leaders. In general, over 90 per cent of those asked to stop work did so. Not the least difficult task of the council was to keep at work the literally hundreds of thousands who were insistent in their desire actively to stand with their fellows. I saw unceasing deputations of men who had not been called out, who came to headquarters in passionate protest at the order to remain in. As an example of working-class solidarity there has been, on this side, no finer demonstration in English trade-union history.

It was an orderly strike. Every observer, British and foreign, has borne testimony to the peaceful conditions everywhere prevailing. The strikers were told by their leaders to be law abiding whatever the provocation. I doubt whether the total number of arrests, throughout Great Britain and on every charge, passed the five hundred mark. It was conducted with a sober earnestness which makes one realize the fine reserve of moral strength there is in the workingman. Incidents like the football-match between strikers and police in Plymouth (which the strikers won) are fairly typical of the temper which prevailed. A foreign correspondent who described the incident which did occur as "an extended boat-race night" was not, I think, exaggerating the character of the atmosphere.

It was a complete strike. Train services, outside milk-trains, practically ceased the country over; so did the buses and trams in all but a few cases. The volunteer services arranged by the authorities could not cope with a fraction of the need. The owners of private cars in general remained owners of private cars; even the exceptions left one (in London) with the impression that most owners had little desire to help the average pedestrian. In a walk, for instance, from Kensington to Whitehall (a distance of some three miles) I tried to get a lift vainly from over seventy cars which passed by either empty, or half-empty, of passengers. Outside the two official newspapers, the *British Gazette* from the Government side and the *British Worker* on the trade-union side, our press consisted either of multigraphed sheets of single-leaf broadsides, of four pages, almost void of foreign news, from the *Times* and the Paris *Daily Mail*, which came over by air. One or two provin-

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cial newspapers, usually printed by non-union labor, were nearly normal; and the *New Statesman* achieved something of a *tour de force* by printing, with blackleg labor, a flaming denunciation of the Government. The Trade Union Council made its stoppage in the printing trade complete. The suppression of the press extended to the *Daily Herald*, the *New Leader*, and *Lansbury's Weekly* equally with the capitalist press. It was found impossible by the Government to print more than stray copies of Hansard, and the Order Papers of the House of Commons had to be typewritten for, I think, the first time in history.

The Government's attitude throughout was one of proud punctilio. This was a general strike; a general strike was unconstitutional because it was political and therefore aimed at the Government; it would not negotiate until the strike was called off unconditionally. In its newspaper, on the wireless, in the House of Commons this attitude was emphasized daily. So adamant was it that it paid no attention to an appeal by the Archbishop of Canterbury, acting in conjunction with the united churches of the country, that the strike and the lockout notices to the miners should be called off simultaneously; it even refused to allow it to be broadcast. It was supported by the whole Conservative Party, by Lord Oxford, Lord Grey, and Lord Buckmaster. Sir John Simon, in a notably bitter and angry pronouncement, told the House of Commons that in his view as a lawyer the trade unions (despite the Trade Disputes Act) were liable in damages for having called out their men in defiance of contract on a political dispute; and he drew a grim picture of trade-union leaders being mulcted in damages to the last penny of their possessions. Mr. Justice Astbury issued an injunction to the Seamen's Union not to strike, or to pay benefit to their workers on strike, in almost (it is significant) Sir John Simon's words. Ministers vied with one another in denouncing this revolutionary conspiracy in which no troops were called upon and not a shot was fired. What the man in the street thought heaven only knows. The Government said he was wholly on its side, and governments, of course, are omniscient. As it promised him, if he remained at work, all his union rights and security against victimization by the strikers it was perhaps less secure in its belief than its protestations seemed to imply. Mr. Baldwin combined a passionate demand for reasonableness with the insistence that the strike must be called off. He asked for trust from the nation with the promise that he would do all in his power to secure justice for the miners and an absence of bitterness in the settlement.

Almost every day from May 4 efforts were made to find a means of settlement. On May 6 it became known that while the Government wanted to save its face by receiving an unconditional surrender, if a man of high authority were to find reasonable terms that the Trade Union Council could accept, terms which, it could be stated securely, the Government would act upon later, a settlement might be had. Sir Herbert Samuel, who had been chairman of the Coal Commission, returned home hurriedly from the Continent. He had discussion with the miners, the Trade Union Council, and Sir Arthur Steel Maitland, the Minister of Labor. The results of his discussion were embodied in a memorandum of what he thought fair terms. He emphasized the fact that (1) he could not and did not bind the Cabinet, (2) he thought the terms fair. On late Tuesday, May 11, the Trade Union Council discussed them for many hours among themselves and with a committee of the Miners' Federation. As they involved a reduction of wages the latter would not accept them. The Trade Union Council, after long and anxious thought, arrived at the conclusion that, all in all, they involved a chance of a just peace. On May 12 they therefore went to Downing Street, called off the general strike, and asked that negotiations on the mining issue be renewed. Formally, it was the "unconditional surrender" the Government was compelled to ask after the position it had assumed. Actually, everyone knows that it was the result of a "gentlemen's agreement" in which, without formal documents, the basis upon which negotiations were to be resumed on both sides was well understood. In the afternoon Mr. Baldwin spoke to the House of Commons, chanted a little hymn of victory, and pleaded for a peace without recrimination. Some big employers (notably the railways and docks) tried to seize the opportunity to victimize the men. This was promptly countered by a refusal of the men to go back on terms involving either victimization or cancelation of agreements, and by the announcement of a strike afresh by all the railway unions. On May 13, indeed, it seemed as though the ending of the general strike was only to be followed by a series of strikes on a national scale. Luckily from Friday onward common sense prevailed, agreements were made in all the big industries, often containing clauses in which the unions, in return for the reinstatement in full seniority of their members, agree that they have been very naughty to strike without notice and will not do so again. By May 17 things were as nearly normal, outside the mining industry, as could be. There the men remain out. They have received from Mr. Baldwin terms fairly similar to the Samuel memorandum with one significant and dishonorable exception. A delegate conference will take its decision (I think a rejection) on Thursday, May 20.* They have thanked the trade-union movement for its magnificent demonstration of sympathy. But it must be added that they are profoundly dissatisfied with the terms of settlement.

II

It is far too early yet to draw more than purely tentative conclusions from such a vast upheaval as this. Here I shall not touch upon the mining dispute proper, reserving the later history of that issue, from the time of the Samuel memorandum, until a settlement has been made. I shall attempt only to emphasize certain obvious tendencies which a reasonable observer would, I think, be impelled to take note of:

1. The whole burden of blame for the occurrence of the stoppage rests absolutely on the shoulders of the Government. For (a) it allowed the mine owners from March 8 until April 30 (when thousands of miners were already locked out) before it secured from them a proposed wage scale; (b) it transmitted on the afternoon of the *day before the subsidy expired* an offer which the whole country denounced as scandalous; (c) it had no plan or offer of its own at any time in the prestrike negotiations yet it knew that miners and mine owners would never agree if left to themselves; (d) it broke off negotiations upon a minor issue which it never gave the unions the chance to explain

* The "significant and dishonorable exception" which Mr. Laski mentions was probably the government proposal for an immediate reduction in minimum wages, other than subsistence rates, in all districts pending a final decision of the National Wage Board. On May 20 both miners and owners voted to reject the Prime Minister's peace proposal.—Editor *The Nation*.

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or investigate. I believe myself that when the *Daily Mail* incident occurred Mr. Baldwin was presented with an ultimatum by certain members of his Cabinet and that he was too weak to fight them and gave way. The unions did not want to strike; they were at the point where a strike could almost certainly have been avoided. But it looks as though Mr. Churchill, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, and certain other of their colleagues were anxious for a fight with the unions and seized this pathetic pretext to force it.

2. At no moment in the strike were the unions fighting on a political issue. For them it was a sympathetic strike on a massive scale to demonstrate their solidarity with the miners and to compel the withdrawal by the owners of the lockout notices. At no time did they raise any political or constitutional issue. At no time did they challenge any law, custom, or convention of the constitution. They were fighting to get the discussion on a reasonable basis. Once, in their belief, the Samuel memorandum had done this they called off the strike. For the Government to represent their action as a challenge to the constitution was pure propaganda intended to blind the public to the real issue. With the Tories and all Liberals except (a notable exception) Mr. Lloyd George, who remained throughout opposed to government punctilio, they probably succeeded. With insignificant exceptions, they produced no effect on the solidarity of labor.

3. It is improbable that, except financially, the strike will seriously affect the power of trade unionism. Its solidarity and order impressed universally. Any sense of surrender has already been largely countered by the revelation in the attitude of the great employers that without the unions there would always be victimization on an immense scale. The unions have shown that they are the real protection of the worker and confidence in them in each industry is not, I think, seriously impaired.

4. On the other hand, it is, I believe, pretty clear that a general strike for industrial purposes will not be called again in my lifetime. For, in the first place, it cannot continue on its massive scale without becoming revolutionary. The Government will, through the use of troops and blacklegs, seek to provoke it to violence. Further, few workers have the resources, even with strike-pay, to stay out for a period long enough to strain the resources at the service of Government.

5. It is a difficult question whether the unions were wise in calling out the printers. Many Labor men I respect think definitely they were not. They say that it was a blow at the freedom of the press, that it prevented moderate opinion from making itself heard, that it left wireless and the paper supply at the mercy of the Government, that it is an evil example to set the Government. The unions dissent on a variety of grounds. They say that the printers would, as the *Mail* incident showed, have come out despite orders to the contrary. It was better to have them out in an orderly and disciplined way. To have left the press unhampered would have meant the suppression by the Government of the *Daily Herald,* thus leaving Labor without an organ of opinion. It acted fairly in that Labor as well as capitalist organs were held up. It is useless to talk of "freedom of the press" when outside such notable exceptions as the *Manchester Guardian* what is really meant is that a dozen such men as Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook are left at leisure to poison the public mind unhindered. The mean and unscrupulous character of the *British Gazette* (edited, it is said, by that master of truculent histrionics Mr. Winston Churchill) shows the kind of government propaganda Labor would have had to fight in massed form.

6. The strike was a failure in so far as the miners were not victorious as a result of the aid given to them. But it was a success as a demonstration of the loyalty inspired in the workers by their unions and as a proof brought home to the country of the depth of working-class antagonism to the mine owners. And though, in form, the Government compelled the council to call off the strike without conditions, not even the well-organized absence of documents persuades men in general that there were not well-understood conditions by which the Government is broadly bound.

7. Should the council have called off the strike when the miners did not agree to the Samuel memorandum? This is a difficult question. I think myself that it must be judged in the light of the following facts: (a) The strike as a purely industrial strike was at its peak. After Wednesday it would either have had to go further or it would have begun to crumble. Had it gone further it would have been compelled to become revolutionary. (b) The Trade Union Council had secured what it believed to be a reasonable basis of renewed negotiation. That was its whole purpose in calling upon the unions to strike. It had, then, in its view, achieved its aim. (c) It had to remember larger responsibilities even than those it had to the miners. It had called its men out; there would remain the bigger problem of getting them back; this would be more difficult every day longer the strike lasted. This, on the whole, it has managed remarkably well. There are casualties, but, compared to the total effort, they are small. (d) To have stayed out until the miners got terms satisfactory to themselves was to accept an unlimited obligation probably involving ultimate disaster. As it is an unbroken army was led from the field, and the power of the trade unions is psychologically and morally unimpaired. I myself believe that it would have been wiser for the Trade Union Council to have called a three days' strike with every union in the country out for that period. But in so serious a responsibility, I believe the leaders acted with great courage and much insight.

8. The political struggle of the next two years will turn upon the issue of this strike. Wisely interpreted, and the full force of the Government's folly and weakness properly insisted upon, I believe it will be a source of strength to the political labor movement. Badly handled, it may prove as dangerous as the Zinoviev letter. We shall know more of this after the next two or three by-elections.

I venture to end this record with an expression of my own admiration for the spirit and courage of the rank and file of the trade unions. Their patience, their soberness, their moderation have been wonderful. They deserve great leaders and great service. They cannot help but win in the end the victory their quality deserves. I add that certain of the leaders, notably Mr. Pugh, Mr. Bevin, and Mr. Thomas, have in different ways acted with resolution and intelligent courage. I may add that I write as one who spent each day of the great fight at Eccleston Square; and the devotion of the trained staffs of the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party was encouraging beyond words. It has been a great landmark in English history. Its spirit has been worthy of its purpose.

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Mr. Benn Sees It Through

The Diary of a Cambridge Undergraduate During the General Strike

By EDWARD BENN, of Clare

[*The class-conscious young author of this diary is a son of Sir Ernest John Pickstone Benn, head of the publishing firm of Benn Brothers, Ltd., editor of the* Hardware Trade Journal, *author of a recent autobiography "The Confessions of a Capitalist," and an enthusiastic opponent of trade unions. Edward Benn is a student at Clare College, Cambridge.*]

Monday, May 3

FOUND a letter from dad on coming in from golf: ". . . situation looks bad, but somehow I refuse to believe that the General Strike will really take place. It is a Continental notion, and the British workingman is too sensible a being. . . ." Still it seemed best to be on the safe side, so I signed on with the O. M. S.* at the Guildhall. Put myself down as a lorry-driver—pity the lorry that gets me.

Tuesday, May 4

To the Union early to hear the News Bulletin. The strike has arrived. Went to 10 o'clock lecture, but very few there. Stopped by H. as I came out, who asked me to review "Patience" at the New Theater tonight for the *Granta*. Said I would, adding "if tonight ever comes." Talked with S. the historian. He drew an alarming parallel between the present situation and the start of the French Revolution. Went and played golf, feeling that it was very much "fiddling while Rome burns." Still what can one do? Some people have got onto the railway, it seems, stoking and portering, but no transport workers have been called up yet. To "Patience" in the evening. Couldn't think of anything to say; and this my first job of the kind for the *Granta!* Luckily a few ideas came on the way home, which I wrote up before going to bed rather late.

Wednesday, May 5

To *Granta* office early with my stuff. Was asked to help produce a special Strike Supplement. Working a duplicator is great fun! The *Granta* staff seem an amusing lot. We got 1,000 copies finished by 11 p. m.

Thursday, May 6

Message from the tutor arrived during breakfast: ". . . be ready to leave at short notice." Sufficiently terse and unsettling! Spent the rest of the day wandering aimlessly about between the Union, Clare and the Guildhall, meeting everybody else in a similar state of uncertainty. Heard that A. had been called up: Was asked to join a gang in the evening and accepted. Gangs of eight or ten are getting called up faster than separate men, evidently.

Friday, May 7

Raining all day. The rain and this uncertainty are damnable. Heard that our gang leader had been called up separately. Tried to ring up dad's office and get a job there, but couldn't get through. Remainder of our gang and another lot joined together and were officially registered. All Clare men luckily.

Saturday, May 8

Another ghastly morning. No news. A few gangs went to Hull. Docking ought to be quite fun. Played tennis in the afternoon, feeling every minute that my gang was probably being called up. But no such luck!

Sunday, May 9

The likelihood of our going seems to get less and less. Talked to L., who, being a cripple, has no hope of going. He seemed thoroughly alarmed. Troops have been used in London to escort food convoys. He thought this was the first sign of revolution.

Monday, May 10

Did some work in my room during the morning. If they want to call me up, they must come and find me! Just as I had got into this frame of mind and had given up all hope, a message came from our gang leader. Packed a bag like lightning and rushed to his rooms. We're off tomorrow! To meet at the Guildhall at 10 a. m. This really seemed definite at last. Went home, unpacked, and repacked a fresh set of things, including a decent suit and some reasonable shirts. We are going to London, and one never knows. . . .

Tuesday, May 11

Got to Clare at 9:30, after saying goodby to my landlady and the old ferryman on the way. Joined rest of the gang and proceeded to the Guildhall. Terrific crowd —about 700. Talked to by various people. One wretched man struck the patriotic note, but soon sat down amid catcalls. We're going to London, as part of the Civil Constabulary Reserve—but not till tomorrow, of course! Bought some eating utensils: mug, plate, and so on. No chance of going today now, so I went off and played golf. Beaten by an elderly parson; an Old Harrovian, curiously enough.

Wednesday, May 12

Arrived with the gang as ordered at the cross-roads on the "Backs" at 7:30 a. m. A long string of cars in view. Then we really are going! We were part of No. 3 Company, and went in the 5th bunch of 20 cars. Wonderful run to London. The foot-brake on our Austin gave out half-way, so the driver had only his hand-brake, but managed to avoid bumping the car in front. The man behind was not so skilful. He charged our behind in a London traffic block, and my suit-case acted as bumper! Passed several trams near London driven by volunteers. Not a soul on board in the passenger way—the public evidently don't trust the amateur.

A Cambridge man in a steel helmet directing our convoy was the first sign that we were near our destination. Large Yiddish-looking crowd assembled to see us arrive. Rather hostile. One woman struck an undergraduate in the face. We disembarked outside our warehouse-barracks. And presently had our first meal. Lunch: round of thick bread and meat, cocoa. Shown our quarters. We've got to sleep in a series of passages between shelves of ironmon-

* "Organization for Maintaining the Services."

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gery, on a concrete floor! Not too much light or air, but plenty of dust. Steel helmets and truncheons distributed. Hitting each other over the head to test the shock-absorbtive qualities of the tin hat was our occupation for the afternoon. Heard that the strike had been settled. Commandant assembled us and said that ". . . we shall probably go back to Cambridge straight away, if a special train can be secured." Tea: round of thick bread and margarine, tea. No more was heard of the special train, and we proceeded to be sworn in. This was done about ten at a time, and one regrets to record that all the oath that most people swore was "urgle wurble gurgle burble," or words to that effect. After the oath came pay; which everyone was surprised and pleased to find was £2 per man. Supper: round of thick bread and cheese, cocoa (with considerable tea content). After supper I wandered round the building and up and down the street in front of the warehouse. A considerable company of prostitutes abroad; but the contingent had been warned that the chances were five to three on venereal disease. From the appearance of these poor Whitechapel Jewesses these odds were considered by most to be distinctly generous.

Drew an army pallias, filled it with straw, and was given three blankets. Made a remarkably comfortable bed, considering.

Thursday, May 13

It transpired during the morning that there had been a row in Poplar overnight, so the Government considered it expedient to keep us in Whitechapel. Breakfast: round of thick bread and cold bacon, tea (with considerable cocoa content). Inspection at 10:30. Our company commander remarked: "I shall give the order Shun! when the general arrives. Do what you can." Discipline is not a strong point with our force! Lunch: round of thick bread and bully beef, cocoa. Afternoon: One company paraded in the road, and marched to the Tower of London, presumably for exercise, or possibly as a demonstration of strength. Our company was supposed to be on duty, and had to remain in barracks, fully dressed. I took advantage of this opportunity to strip to the waist and have a proper wash and shave. Tea: round of thick bread and margarine and piece of cake, tea. Discipline tightened up slightly. No one allowed out of the building onto the streets. Supper: as usual, but with meat or cheese, not both. "Lights out" 10:30. Very good night.

Friday, May 14

More inspections, but not very thorough. Am getting quite familiar with the round of gramophone records that our gang has brought. Also my bridge is improving, not to mention nap. Went to the Tower after lunch as a company. Took towels and washing gear. This, combined with tin hats, made us look a distinctly motley crowd. Had baths in the Guards Barracks at the Tower. Felt quite clean for the first time for some while. Managed to get onto the telephone in the evening. Chat with mother. Told her that we expect to be disbanded on Monday.

Saturday, May 15

Reveille 6 a. m.—an unearthly hour! Breakfast 7. Why this hurry? We're going to be disbanded! Impossible! But it was quite true. Spent the morning emptying palliases, rolling piles of blankets, and generally clearing up. Paraded and marched to the Tower, where the entire crowd was officially disbanded, with the usual speeches and cheering. We were allowed to keep our truncheons, but not the tin hats, much to everybody's disgust. Lunch, and then paid off. Another five bob—this extravagance will break the Government! Got my pay, seized my suit-case, and jumped into a taxi. Heigh-ho! a private citizen once more. And now for a week-end at home before going back to Cambridge and ordinary, dull work.

Germany, Russia, and the League

By LOUIS FISCHER

Berlin, May 15

THE Russo-German Neutrality Treaty which was signed here at the end of April is part of the aftermath of the recent Geneva fiasco. It is a blow to the League of Nations and yet, or one is tempted to say therefore, a step toward the pacification of Europe.

The negotiations which led to the agreement were initiated as far back as December, 1924. But when the Locarno sun was at its zenith Wilhelmstrasse turned its face to the West and gave Moscow a cool shoulder. Then intervened that memorable week at Geneva during which Germany was to have been accepted into the "comity of nations"—at the end of which Germany was left standing on the doorstep.

This, all concede, was a cruel disillusionment for the ardent supporters of the League in Berlin. Their implicit faith in the much-advertised "spirit of Locarno" was a bit shaken; sections of public opinion favorable to the "East orientation," or pro-Russian policy, began to reassert themselves. Even Chancellor Luther was considerably distressed by the farce in the Swiss capital, and Prime Minister Held of Bavaria has averred that "what we have experienced since Locarno is nothing more than a chain of disappointments. . . . The League of Nations is a weapon of the victorious Powers with which to press us to the wall." Then he advocated a friendlier policy toward Soviet Russia. The worm of doubt is troubling the Catholic Center too. Father Kaas, one of its leaders, reflected it in a speech before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Reichstag.

To be sure, Stresemann still feels confident that the League and the West will redeem themselves in September when the Council, he hopes, will not duplicate the sorry performance of March, and the Social Democrats are so pro-British (their spokesmen go to the length of defending the British Empire) and so convinced of the good-will of France that they will probably stand by the League as long as Robert Cecil. None of the other German parties, however, are as unalterably anti-Russian as the Socialists. With the exception of the Nationalists, Racialists, and Communists, who are flatly opposed to the "West orientation," the several groups in the German body politic are ready to give Locarnism another chance, but in their uncertainty of the outcome they have prepared a retreat in the shape of the Berlin Neutrality Treaty.

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Next to the disappointment over Geneva, the recent Polish-Rumanian military entente was without question the most potent influence in bringing the Stresemann-Krestinsky discussions to a hasty and unexpected close. "The Polish-Rumanian pact," writes the diplomatic correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph*, "is a far more extensive and ambitious instrument than the former treaty of alliance. The latter was exclusively directed against Soviet aggression upon the eastern border of either state. The present pact," he continues, "is directed against Germany as well as Russia, and against Lithuania as well as Bulgaria. Germany considered herself threatened especially since French and [or] British inspiration was suspected and the result was a warmer understanding between Moscow and Berlin."

Nor were Mussolini's fulminations calculated to fortify Germany's faith in Locarno. He had hardly returned from Locarno when he delivered himself of violently anti-German speeches and ordered anti-German repressions in the Tyrol. The Duce, too, then, must bear his share of the blame—if blame it is—for that modification of German feeling which made the neutrality treaty possible.

The Bolsheviks are happy over the treaty. It does not go as far as they might have wished; nevertheless, as Litvinov said, "it reduces the possibility of an attack," for the Soviet Union, he affirmed, does not regard itself as secure from foreign aggression.

There are those who insist that this fear of offense is a hallucination of a diseased Bolshevik brain. I spoke this afternoon to an able German journalist who has just returned from a seven months' sojourn in the Far East. He, too, he confessed, had always made light of the Communist "fantasies" about an English cordon around Russia stretching from Finland to Afghanistan and then on into China. But now that he has seen British imperialism in action on the Pacific he is convinced that the Moscovites are talking *Realpolitik*. Austen Chamberlain's anti-Bolshevik bloc of last year may have been a failure, but the Russians believe that the idea is not dead, and for this and other reasons they are continually and sincerely disturbed by signs of impending coalitions against them. This feeling was only intensified when Germany initialed the Locarno documents and signified her intention of entering the League. Moscow said Germany had been drawn into the British orbit, and argued that Germany's consent to Article 16 of the League Covenant opened wide the door for an attack on Russia by the West.

For Europe Article 16 is the most ominous. It provides for the passage of punitive military expeditions approved by the League through the territories of all League members. Now, Germany is the bridge between the West and Russia. As long as she remained without the League no foreign army bound for Russia could march through the country without German permission or without first declaring war on Germany. But the moment Germany adhered to the League her consent to troop transit became a relatively simple matter. Chiefly for this reason the Moscow diplomats openly urged Germany not to join the Geneva body. And when Germany spurned the Bolshevik counsel only to accept Locarno (which predicated Berlin's admission into the League), Chicherin insisted on at least an unequivocal interpretation of Article 16. Would the Wilhelmstrasse permit the armed units of a country which had declared war on the Soviet Union to pass unhindered across her territory? The present neutrality treaty seeks to define Germany's attitude on the subject.

The treaty consists of four short articles. The first reaffirms the Rapallo treaty, which, it will be remembered, fell like a bombshell during the Genoa Conference and pledges the Soviet Union and Germany to remain in "friendly contact with one another in order to promote an understanding with regard to all matters of a political and economic character mutually affecting both countries." Articles 2 and 3 are the most important clauses. Each contains a single sentence. Article 2 binds the contracting parties to neutrality should either be attacked by a third party. In Article 3 Germany and the Union agree to refrain from joining an economic or financial boycott aimed against one of the signatories in the event of its being attacked or when it is in a state of peace. The last article provides for ratification and sets the duration of the treaty at five years.

The treaty was accompanied by an interchange of notes between Stresemann and Krestinsky, the Soviet Ambassador. Krestinsky's letter is little more than an acknowledgment in which, incidentally, the Soviet Government accepts the idea of an arbitration argument, but the Stresemann communication is probably as important as the whole treaty and claims special attention.

It will have been noted that Article 1 makes it incumbent on Germany to discuss with Moscow any question affecting herself or Russia which may arise in the League Council. To this the Stresemann note adds the promise that the Wilhelmstrasse will combat "most energetically" any efforts directed by the League exclusively against the Soviet Union. Legal experts on Downing Street, in the Quai D'Orsay, and elsewhere are still pondering over the true inward significance of this and other statements in the treaty and the appended correspondence. One dare not, then, do more than suggest that this promise of most energetic opposition to any League efforts directed exclusively against Russia could possibly be the basis for a flat refusal by Germany to participate in any League sanctions against the Union. But it does not end here. Stresemann proceeds to assure Moscow that Germany's friendly intentions toward Russia cannot "be adversely influenced by the obligations" which Germany accepts under Articles 16 and 17 of the League Covenant. The sanctions under these paragraphs, Stresemann explains, giving the official German version, would come into consideration only if Russia should be the aggressor against a third party, and whether Russia is or is not the aggressor Germany herself will decide. Finally, Stresemann recalls the Allied note to Germany of December 1, 1925, in which it was conceded that Germany's participation in League sanctions would depend on the state of her armaments and on her geographical position with respect to the combatants.

This is conditional neutrality. The World War taught us that neutrality lasts as long as it is in the interests of the nation which maintains it. At the dawn of hostilities this Berlin treaty, like every other agreement now in existence, will become a scrap of paper unless the countries concerned would benefit by its fulfilment. If this conception offends the distant and idealistic observer it is nevertheless the attitude of every practical statesman. At the given moment Germany could, by the terms of this treaty and pressed by France and England, allow the passage of troops under orders to invade Russia. She could also refuse on the

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the ground that Russia was not the aggressor. Who was the aggressor in 1914? The Entente Powers said Germany. The Central Powers said the Entente. After all, it depends entirely on one's sympathies until years later when cool history records its verdict.

Today, however, the Berlin treaty has tremendous significance. It will sober stormy militarists like Poland and Rumania. It will pave the way to close economic cooperation between Germany and the Soviets. By signing the neutrality treaty at this juncture Germany has indicated that she can set cordial relations with Moscow above the pleasure of the West and has put the matter to the Western Powers: If you accept us we will be faithful to Locarno; if not we have an alternative policy in the East. I believe that the majority of the German parties prefer, but without enthusiasm, the former alternative to the latter. But if France continues to look upon the League as an instrument for the execution of the Versailles Treaty, if Mussolini continues to propose Latin and Latin-Slav coalitions against Germany, and if Great Britain persists in anti-Russianism of so violent a variety as to increase Moscow's pressure on Germany for a protective policy, one can scarcely expect Germany to await her sole salvation from the League or to stake all her cards on the West. Formally there is nothing to prevent Germany from remaining loyal to Locarno and yet pursuing a friendly policy toward Russia. Actually, however, and in the long run, the one excluded the other. This is why the Powers fear the new neutrality treaty. They fear it especially since their own acts have sown broadcast in Germany seeds of skepticism as to the sincerity and efficacy of the League.

In the Driftway

THE *Quill* has moved to Brooklyn! What, some will ask, is the *Quill* and where, others may add, is Brooklyn? The *Quill*, the Drifter hastens to explain, is the magazine of Greenwich Village; hence the surprise that it should emigrate to any other place, especially to the city of churches and baby carriages. Yet in the June issue stares the announcement: "Published for the last time, praise God, by Robert Edwards, 144 Macdougal Street, New York City," and just below, "To be published regularly in future by Henry Harrison, 76 Elton Street, Brooklyn." Does this mean that Greenwich Villagers, to escape high rents and invading electric signs, are about to move across the East River; or is it that the *Quill* is to be no longer their house organ? The Drifter has been informed that neither of these alternatives is in prospect and—although he suspects that both may in a measure be coming to pass—he is assured that the Village is to be villagier and the *Quill* quillier than ever before.

* * * * *

SO be it. The Drifter would hate to see either one or the other grow less, and they seem to him, in a way, like Siamese Twins that could hardly exist apart. The *Quill* was started nine years ago when the Village had just risen over the horizon as a national institution. Previously the purlieus of Washington Square had for years been the quiet haunt of writers, artists, and others of Bohemian instincts, but a decade ago the ancient garrets and courts awoke with much surprise and some chagrin to find themselves a hotbed from which a strange, new, verdant crop of protest was pushing up obstreperously through the babbittized surface of America. Ten years have brought changes and vicissitudes in plenty. The Village has been anathematized, patronized, and commercialized; it has been glorified, purified, and pie-eyed. It had had many magazines before the *Quill;* it has had several since. But the *Quill* is the only one that has lived through this amazing decade, constituting, as the Drifter believes, the best record and expression of the Village during the period. A purely amateur atmosphere still hung over Greenwich Village when, in 1917, the *Quill* was started by Arthur H. Moss, who "never had a lesson in his life." The now ubiquitous tearoom was just beginning to sprout. Tearooms in those days were run for fun by girls just arrived from Harlem or the Middle West. Ten cents bought a cup of tea or a glass of grape juice, entitling the purchaser to stay until the place closed—any time between midnight and sunrise. As an early number of the *Quill* remarked: "In the Village everyone has two businesses—her neighbors and a tearoom." The dance craze, too, had just started then in the region of Washington Square. "We have sold our bed," announced the *Quill*. "Why sleep when there's a dance at Webster Hall every night?"

* * * * *

THE Village as a whole has not been able to maintain the amateur character which was its distinctive feature ten years ago, but the *Quill* has. After three and a half years of the magazine, Editor Moss departed for Paris, and a few months later the *Quill* was left one dark night on the doorstep of Bobby Edwards, the bard, historian, and prophet of the Village. He is the 100 per centest amateur that the Drifter knows—almost a professional amateur, it might be said. "We welcome even the poems of painters, the drawings of cello players, or the melodies of sculptors," he said in his first issue. A month later he added with a shade of doubt: "Unfortunately it is easier to extract something a person wants printed than a really interesting contribution." And after a year's experience came this:

> If your verse is very vile,
> You might send it to the *Dial.*
> If your verse is viler still—
> Send, oh, send it to the *Quill.*

* * * * *

THE bard of Greenwich Village blazoned upon his magazine the motto: "Eternal Villageance is the Price of Liberty," and upheld the fair name of the quarter against all detractors. Of the Rev. John Roach Straton he wrote: "Somehow I have a feeling that if Dr. Straton were to preach a jeremiad on the awfulness of young girls chewing tobacco, every flapper in town would try it at least once. Such is the power of the pulpit. We sin to please our preachers." But even the trials of an editor could not quench the amateur spirit and in his valedictory in the June issue of the *Quill* the bard says:

> It would be impossible for the present scribe to make money at anything; also it would be against his philosophy of life. . . . I know I should have canned the *Quill* and the Village years ago. I should have gone out into the great world and said, "Greenwich Village—that slum—full of poseurs! I never lived there"—even as the many celebrities who have left our happy shores for the sordid community of highly paid hacks.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

Do Women Want Protection?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: If Lena Richman had attended the hearing in Albany she would have met women factory workers from all over New York State who came to protest against the passage of the 48-hour-week bill unless amended to apply to both men and women.

Women are not in industry from choice; they are there for precisely the same reason as men—to earn for themselves and their dependents clothing, food, and lodging. No question of the strength or weakness of our sex enters. A working woman's expenses are the same as a man's, her responsibilities are the same, consequently she must have the same chance as a man to earn a good wage. The greatest majority of men are unorganized; and it is this majority that working women have to compete with.

The National Woman's Party is not in favor of long hours for either men or women, but believes it speaks in the best interests of women when it protests against special protective legislation for women. The Woman's Party takes the same position on this question as do the largest English women's organizations, who favor a shorter workday for both sexes.

I speak from actual experience, having twenty years to my credit as a working woman, being left a widow many years ago with five children to support.

New York, May 4 MARY A. MURRAY,
Chairman Industrial Council, National Woman's Party

A Recruit to Sanity

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is interesting to note that the Ohio opposition to the Illinois Waterway Project has turned the Chicago *Tribune*, once staunch defender of Daugherty, to an attack on the latter as the leader of the Ohio gang (May 10), whose record "is as shameful a chapter as is to be found in the history of the republic."

Gary, Indiana, May 18 MAURICE H. FRIEDMAN

Truth in Advertising

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The majority of the Federal Trade Commission recently decided that the often-reproduced cut of the swelling Ostermoor mattress somewhat (from five to six times) exaggerated its expansive properties, and issued an order forbidding the use of the offending cut.

Commissioner Humphrey disagreed with his colleagues. Part of this representative of the public's sentiments on "truth in advertising" follow:

> The order is an attempt to compel exact truth in advertising. It will be noticed that the order allows no room whatever for exaggeration. It eliminates the thrilling and time-sacred art of puffing. . . .
>
> If the commission is going to attempt to enforce exact truthfulness in advertising it seems to me that we should realize the magnitude of the undertaking. . . .
>
> If this rule of exactness is to be enforced in advertising by pictures, what will be done with a large part of magazine advertisements? . . . What will become of our seed catalogues if pictures must correspond with the finished product? What of the advertisements on canned fruit if the picture must truthfully depict the contents? What of the "before-and-after" pictures of baldness? Must they, like Providence, number the hairs when the photographs are taken? What of the fat and lean photographs? Must there be no exaggeration of poundage? What of the countless thousands of patent medicine advertisements if the cured victims must be represented exactly as they are? What about the millions of dollars that are spent in advertising the virtues of creams, powders, and other toilet articles? Are we going to compel a true photograph of the lovely creature who shows the magic results of these cosmetics to be used? It would be a dark day for advertisers, for the makers of these nostrums, and for certain ladies more or less known to fame if we should decree that the use of photographs of those paid to advertise these articles should not possess any greater pulchritude than the female subject of the picture.
>
> If this order is sustained and the policy therein announced enforced, it will destroy one-half of all the magazine advertising in America. . . .

WHITNEY COOMBS
Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., April 21

In Justice to Hiram C. Todd

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The article on The Alien Property Scandal by Edgar Mels, in *The Nation* for April 21, has just been brought to my attention, and I call to your attention the following reference to myself in said article:

> Hiram C. Todd, the same Todd whom Senator Wheeler has exposed and dismembered during the Brookhart investigation into the Department of Justice, was named prosecutor at $1,000 a month.

The plain implication of the above-quoted statement is that under Senator Wheeler's examination some sinister and unlawful acts on my part were brought out in evidence during the Brookhart investigation of the Department of Justice. The statement is not true.

I hand you herewith a printed copy of the transcript of my testimony before the Brookhart committee. I ask that you accord me the same fair treatment in the premises that you feel that you would be entitled to receive if you were in my place.

New York, April 30 HIRAM C. TODD

[Careful reading of the record of the Brookhart investigation does not bear out Mr. Mels's phrase, and we regret it and offer our apology.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Delphi Lives Again

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Since coming to Athens I have learned more of the plans for giving a Greek tragedy in May, 1927. A committee, working with and under Mr. and Mrs. Angelo Sikelianos, the inceptors of the project, proposes to present in the theater at Delphi Aeschylus's "Prometheus" in a modern Greek rendition by the poet J. Gryparis. Music for the choruses will be in the ancient Greek modes and rhythms, composed by Professor Psachos. The costumes are being woven by hand by Mme Sikelianos and are exquisite both in tint and design; their rich, clinging texture shapes itself to the human frame and evokes the classic spirit. Arrangements are making for sports, dances, and other exhibits in the stadium at Delphi.

It has seemed to me that many of your readers would be glad to know of this spectacle. Those who can hope to witness it in that magnificent mountain scene may learn further details by writing to M. et Mme Angelo Sikelianos, Delphi. It is fitting to note that Mme Sikelianos, in her devotion to the country of her adoption, still carries on the spirit transmitted by her father, the late Courtlandt Palmer. New Yorkers of the elder generation will recall his large-minded tolerance and generosity, which expressed themselves in part in that first general debating forum, the Nineteenth Century Club.

Athens, Greece, May 15 EMILY E. F. SKEEL

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Books and Plays

Memories of A—

By ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

I, Edward, an old man about to die,
an old man under a cloth
dying, a numb thing underneath a cover—
let me think,
let me probe before the moth,
before the worm let me discover
what is hidden underneath. Let me think,
let me lie
silently, an old man dying.
There was something that I knew,
there was something I am trying
to recall. Let me pursue
this circuitous recession
through the doors I have been through.
Let me think.
Let me finger each digression,
let me touch
knobs and banisters and panels:
let me think. I traveled much.
I read the Year Books and the Saxon Annals.
But there was something that I learned.
Let me think—leaves—leaves—
when the poplar leaves turned under, when they turned,
when they clattered on the eaves,
when I smelled
a marshy exhalation from the drain
and the window in the pantry, if you pulled it, held
and the edges of my sleeves
showed the mark where they were burned,
then I knew that it would rain—
then I always used to say that it would rain.

Let me lie
quietly and think about the leaves.
There is so much to remember when I die.

Mrs. Evans

The Rosalie Evans Letters from Mexico. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $5.

THE movie rights of this book should yield rich profits to an enterprising holder. Here are all the makings of a Wild West film: a lone woman on a frontier ranch fighting officials, militarists, bandits, revolutionists, agrarians; a woman battling for her property against the land-distribution laws of the Obregon Government and harvesting her crops under fire; a brave woman caught in the swirl of social upheaval and flung to disaster on the reefs of unruly events. There are hair-raising horseback rides, sniping from *barrancas* and thickets, gruesome deaths, tense housetop vigils, and in general the melodramatic spectacle of Mrs. Evans, single-handed, revolver leveled, alternately attacking and holding off her crowds of foes. The Hacienda of San Pedro Coxtocan is for the time being the world. Nothing else matters. And Mrs. Evans is finally shot down from ambush with all the relentlessness of a classical tragedy in a heightening atmosphere of suspense, treachery, hatred, pathos, and terror. An excellent movie! And such super-excellent anti-Mexican propaganda!

The book does reinforce many unpleasant truths: that Mexican officials, with a few notable exceptions, are the vilest representatives of their class on earth; that Mexican militarists by and large—as Mexico has learned through a hundred years of bloody independence—are unscrupulous scoundrels and reckless murderers. Mrs. Evans reveals how blunderingly and cruelly and unjustly the Mexican land problem was being handled; here is all the crooked intrigue among generals and officials and agrarian leaders; here is favoritism, crassly and cynically displayed. Her book reveals that revolutions are not tea parties; that social change does not work with Solon's impartiality; that in times of civil war individuals pay bitterly and wrongly. Mrs. Evans paid with her life.

Mrs. Evans was fighting for a cause and for personal justice. Paradoxically her cause was probably unjust and her personal demands just. She was fighting for a lost cause against invincible odds. And Mrs. Evans has all the earmarks of those who fight bitterly for a cause: earnestness, injured righteousness, passion. Her violence and intrepidity make her the twin-sister of my old-time neighbor and godmother, Carrie Nation. Given a different background and training she could have been another Manuel Montes (the badman agrarian agitator whom she hates), leading peasants to recover lands stolen from them in the Diaz epoch.

Thus she has only one criterion by which to judge the personalities and events that sweep over and past her—did they help her to keep her 2,700 acres? Obregon, because he did not immediately free her from difficulty, becomes "crafty, cruel, a dangerous brute." This is her last word on the greatest statesman of the revolutionary epoch. Similarly Mr. Warren (who arranged recognition and later became ambassador) was a fine gentlemen as long as he championed her cause; afterward he was a hard, cold politician. She had seen him "in the old interviews wipe tears from his eyes and be sentimental—but none of our recent talks has been emotional." Villains and angels abound in the book—no shades.

So is Mrs. Evans prevented, and the unwary reader also, from seeing any of the vital major forces at work in the Mexican revolution. San Pedro Coxtocan is a minor tragedy in the working out of a vast racial and national experiment. This the reader is likely to forget. Mrs. Evans visits the neighboring state of Tlascala. The Indians are cultivating their own lands, awarded them back in the days of Carranza. They grow corn only for their personal needs, and Mrs. Evans bewails their ignorance and laziness. But Tlascala has never suffered the violences that have occurred in Puebla; few Mexican states are so peaceful and prosperous. Mrs. Evans was utterly unconscious that a great social movement has been sweeping over Mexico. Mrs. Evans flung herself before the Juggernaut of social change and civil war, bravely, quite madly, futilely, and was snuffed out—a modern Canute. It is unfortunate that her small ranch was made up, in part, of inclosed village lands which according to the constitution had to be returned. It is unfortunate, in her case brutally painful, that the Government was not able to indemnify her immediately for these lands, even at her exaggerated evaluation. But governments cannot afford to make exceptions and unpleasant precedents. No one can fail to feel poignantly with Mrs. Evans in her bitter trials. One boils with indignation at the outrages she suffered. But from the larger viewpoint the book seems a strange distortion.

Mrs. Evans created many of her own difficulties. She cut off all compromise. She did not begin to be seriously attacked until she tried to drive the Indians off the lands awarded to them, unjustly perhaps, by the Government; and the officials were more than patient with her idiosyncrasies. It is not true, as her sister states in the preface, that "Mrs. Evans was only seeking her rights under the Mexican law." She obstructed the law with pistol and rifle, and was incensed because she did not have calm consideration, respect, and justice in a frontier

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locality notorious, even in Diaz's days, for banditry. She never sought to obtain anything by legal means, though many landowners have successfully done so. More than one observer declared her unduly obstinate and reckless. She gained her earlier victories by parleying; but as her mood became more bitter she declared of the agrarians: "They always mean harm, and you are lost if you parley."

On one occasion Mrs. Evans saw a ghost; perhaps, too, she saw more red flags than were really waving—a red boundary flag does not necessarily imply bolshevism. Mr. Warren called her hysterical, and Mr. Cummings, the British *chargé d'affaires*, in an official *informe* to his Government apologized for her overwrought emotional state. There is a suggestion of stage-acting and self-imposed martyrdom; she had a persecution mania and she liked to be called "the heroine." The letters are too bitter to form a permanent contribution to the literature in English on Mexico, as did the brilliant letters of Madame Calderon de la Barca. The many informative descriptive passages are further invalidated by the obvious efforts of the writer's sister in preface and notes, and of the publishers in their jacket blurbs, to make the book anti-Mexican propaganda —revenge for Mrs. Evans's murder. This is a book decidedly worth reading, but one to be read with caution; not merely with sorrow for Mrs. Evans's hardships and foul murder but with sympathy for the problems of Mexico, the difficulties of its leaders, and the century-old sufferings of its oppressed people.

CARLETON BEALS

Babbitt Returns to Nature

Mantrap. By Sinclair Lewis. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

IN the science of general aesthetics the term catharsis may present certain difficulties of interpretation, for we are sometimes purged in ways that are obscure and complicated; but when used in connection with the major novels of Mr. Sinclair Lewis the process implied is as simple as that performed by a resounding "damn." Mr. Lewis is coherently angry with an anger that his readers can share. They have been irritated, obscurely perhaps, by Main Streets and Babbitts, and here they have the cause of their irritation neatly defined and roundly sworn at. The process is much the same as that of the old-fashioned melodrama in which the audience rejoices to see the villain get it in the neck, and yet though similar it is more important, because the villain, instead of being created for the purpose, has been generated by the society in which we must live, and for the health of our souls the anger must be purged away. Doubtless no Main Streets were remade and no Babbitts were reformed, but it was for us, not them, that Mr. Lewis wrote. They have been cursed root and stem, and cursing has its value, for free and adequate expression is a blessing which sometimes enables us to bear with greater equanimity what we cannot change. Gentle moralists notwithstanding, songs of hate help us even if they do not hurt our enemy.

Now, "Mantrap" is not a major novel. It is a rather commonplace story of adventure in the Canadian woods, and most of it, it is but fair to say, could have been written by any one of a score of competent contributors to the popular magazines. It does occasionally, to be sure, skirt the edge of forbidden topics, but the conclusion, in which the inevitable girl, a transplanted manicurist, returns to the city while the sturdy trapper reneges at the last moment upon his promise to go to New York with the hero, is exactly the conclusion which the most conventional writers would give it, and the book will not add anything to Mr. Lewis's reputation. Yet, significantly enough, the moments at which it rises above its own level are the moments in which the author finds occasion to perform his characteristic function. The hero, a capable lawyer with some taste for civilized living, has allowed himself to be persuaded in an off moment that he ought to be a red-blooded man and that there is something essentially virtuous in the discomforts of a camp. He allows himself to be conducted to Canada by a bumptiously rugged business man, and he allows himself to be bullied until he can stand it no longer. Finally he revolts against all the dogmas of the camping cult in exactly the same manner that Carol Kennicott revolted against the dogmas of Main Street, and because Mr. Lewis, here as before, has taken care that the reader shall have revolted several chapters before, the rebellion comes with a liberating relief. There are some, of course, who like camping—more, for example, than there were who liked Main Streets—and for them the present cathartic will be merely bitter without being salutary; but there are others to whom the medicine will bring a welcome relief. Here are perfectly good reasons why a man who does not like camping should stay at home with a clear conscience, and here is the pest who insists upon making him uncomfortable given an adequate castigation. Once more Mr. Lewis has given an anger direction and outlet.

To be sure the occasion is a minor one. The camper is neither so pervasive nor so difficult to escape as the Babbitt. He is an annoyance rather than a menace, and he cannot hold a book full of anger. Hence it is that Mr. Lewis, having disposed of him, must proceed to matters which are not satiric and in the handling of which he is not more than ordinarily competent. As a whole "Mantrap" is interesting enough; it is by no means memorable.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Iraq

Four Centuries of Modern Iraq. By Stephen Hemsley Longrigg. Oxford University Press. $7.

The Heart of the Middle East. By Richard Coke. Frank-Maurice, Inc. $5.

IN a sense these volumes are complementary. Both deal with the long and important history of Mesopotamia. Mr. Coke begins with the earliest days and develops his narrative rapidly, so that two-thirds of his volume deals with the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He gives almost no space to the years 1500-1870, a period which was marked by comparative economic and political stagnation in the Land of the Rivers. Mr. Longrigg, on the other hand, concentrates his attention upon precisely these comparatively uneventful years. He believes that an understanding of the four centuries from the sixteenth to the nineteenth, however unimportant they may be considered from the point of view of the relationship of Iraq to the world at large, is essential to a knowledge of what has happened since. Taking the two books together, therefore, one may get a reasonably complete picture of Mesopotamian history.

Judged by scholarly standards, the first is much the more important of the two books. Mr. Longrigg has undertaken and performed with distinction a task which no other historian writing in any language has ventured to attempt. He has laboriously pieced together out of widely scattered and inaccessible sources the long story of tribal insurrections, dynastic rivalries, Turco-Persian wars, and other episodes which form the record of four hundred years after 1500. If this is not altogether fascinating reading, it is because of the paucity of the subject matter rather than any ineptitude on the part of the author. Nevertheless there is much of inherent interest in this history, whether the reader's primary concern be with military campaigns, administrative systems, striking personalities, or social and economic institutions. Mr. Longrigg's circle of readers is likely to be confined to advanced students of Near Eastern affairs; but for them he has written a book which is original, suggestive, and authoritative—one which is hardly likely to be displaced as the standard treatise on the subject.

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Mr. Coke covers ground which in large part has been covered before and most of which previously has been covered by more capable hands. So far as can be ascertained he has not had access to new and striking materials; in fact, his short bibliography includes some volumes of very doubtful value and omits others of genuine worth. But he has written a readable account of modern Iraq, with particular emphasis upon war-time and post-war developments. This is a service, but one of transitory importance. The chapters on the British administration in Mesopotamia, excellent as they are, will most certainly be replaced by more authoritative accounts. Mr. Coke, like Mr. Longrigg, knows Iraq well; they both write without bias and with an agreeable freedom from that form of trite generalization which characterizes so many works on the Near East. Because of the general spirit of objectivity which pervades his book, Mr. Coke's admirable treatment of health, education, industry, and social life may be accepted with reasonable confidence that it represents a fair, if incomplete, picture of contemporary conditions in Iraq.

These two volumes may be taken as an indication that there will be an increasingly large and increasingly important literature on Iraq, which Mr. Coke chooses to call the "heart of the Middle East." In the nineteenth century the advent of the steamboat, the telegraph, the railway, and the Suez Canal served to restore to Mesopotamia some of the time-honored strategic and economic importance from which it was temporarily deprived by the commercial revolution of the sixteenth century. More recently a world war, the coming of the airplane and the motor car, and emancipation from Ottoman rule have heightened the interest of the outside world in Iraq and the interest of Iraq in the outside world. That the British are conducting in the so-called Arab Kingdom of Iraq a unique experiment in colonial administration—or mandatory supervision, if you will—adds to rather than detracts from the fascination which Mesopotamian affairs seem to hold for students of international relations and world politics.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE

Our Informal Government

The Usages of the American Constitution. By Herbert W. Horwill. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

MR. HORWILL has done well to remind us that there is more of the American Constitution than is to be found within the four corners of a written instrument. Too frequently we fall into the habit of conceiving our government as completely organized by the Fathers into a perfect system which, having once been wound up, will function automatically on the original plan to the end of time. Mr. Horwill points out that much of its actual working is in accordance with informal "usages" which have grown up more or less unconsciously, and which not only seriously affect, but in some instances have radically altered, the original design of the authors of the written document. Most important and obvious among these "usages" is that which has deprived the presidential electors of any freedom of choice in the exercise of their electoral function and has reduced them to mere "bell-punchers," in Woodrow Wilson's phrase, for the candidate named by a party convention. The result has been to give to the Presidency a very different standing and weight in the government from that contemplated by the Fathers through making its occupant the direct choice and, in consequence, the direct and only representative of the whole people of the country at large.

Mr. Horwill identifies and describes a large number of such usages of greater or less importance. Thus the institution which we know as the President's Cabinet is entirely the outgrowth of usage, having no recognition either in the written Constitution or in statute law. Again it is due solely to usage that the heads of executive departments do not appear personally on the floor of Congress and communicate orally with the two houses. Presidential appointments to local federal offices are made in accordance with a usage which requires the President to accept the nominations made by Senators for the more important offices and by members of the House of Representatives for others. The rejection of the Warren appointment by the Senate marked a departure from a usage of many years' standing, that the President should have an absolutely free hand in the selection of the personal advisers composing his Cabinet. The practice of requiring members of the House of Representatives to reside in the district which they represent is due entirely to usage.

Mr. Horwill writes vividly and entertainingly and with a considerable knowledge derived from the standard works on American government and from recent political memoirs. He has no thesis to expound beyond showing the inadequacy of the written Constitution to account fully for the actual working of the American government; and he makes merely a casual approach to a generalization of the utmost significance regarding the usages of our Constitution as a whole.

The significant thing is that practically all these usages contribute to enhancing that separation between the executive and legislative departments which we have come to think of as so characteristic of our government. Thus the usage which has brought about what practically amounts to a popular election of the President has set up the Presidency in the public mind as a formidable and generally successful contender with Congress for the right to speak the national voice; and it has at the same time served to prevent the election of a President, except under the most unusual circumstances, from ever falling into the House of Representatives, as the framers of the Constitution expected that it would frequently do. The cleavage between Congress and the President has thus been doubly emphasized. It has been emphasized again by the growth of the Cabinet as a group of advisers for the President responsible to him alone, and by the usage which forbids Cabinet members the floor of Congress. It has been emphasized by the President's surrender to Congress of local patronage and by the residential requirement for Congressmen, which have together resulted in making Congress particularly the guardian of local interests and in thus enabling the President to appear all the more obviously the champion of national interests.

This uniform tendency of constitutional usage, growing up gradually and presumably in accordance with the most powerful instincts of our political life, bodes ill for the entirely rational and moderate proposals which have been so often made, and which have been recently revived, to bridge to some degree the gap between the executive and legislative branches by enabling Cabinet officers to exercise their constitutional prerogative of appearance on the floor of Congress. Necessary as some such rapprochement is for effective and reasonable government, and for eliminating the stupid and misleading deadlocks which so often bury the real merits of issues under the excitement of a quarrel between the President and Congress, the necessity is not perceived by public opinion under the dominance of impulses which make for narrow localism and for the selfishness of machine politics. The whole tendency of unconscious constitutional development, which is the index of the real desires of the governing element in the community, has been wholly in the opposite direction. As Mr. Horwill sums it up:

> An observer may reasonably doubt whether any attempt to bring to an end the present isolation of the executive from the legislative branch of the government without impairing their mutual independence would be successful. . . . You cannot enjoy at the same time the advantages of the separation between executive and legislative functions which characterizes the American plan of government and the union of them which is a cardinal feature of the English system.

JOHN DICKINSON

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Disgusting Persons

Beatrice Cenci. By Corrado Ricci. Boni and Liveright. Two volumes. $10.

FRANCESCO CENCI'S "pay-clerk," one Antonio Sangallo, who quit his service in 1595, stated in a court examination that he had "left Signor Francesco because there was no money to be had there and because he was a disgusting person." This is quoted early in the present work. The reader, having just been dragged through a chapter on Cenci's "trial for unnatural vice" and seen him paying huge fines to escape imprisonment, can believe there was no money there and will be sure he was a disgusting person. It seems to the present reviewer that Signor Ricci, who has done a really admirable and monumental piece of research, was faced with two alternatives when he came to Cenci's "unnatural" debauches: either to make an effort to comprehend a most complex, brutal, and interesting character by discarding the categories—empirical anyhow—of natural and unnatural or to state simply that Cenci was convicted of such and such sexual perversions. If the terms are unfamiliar to the reader, there is always the dictionary. Instead the author has related a series of police-court trials, and he has related them—with consummate skill—in the police-court manner; he has given the facts.

He has followed the same plan in his treatment of the major episode of his work: the murder of Francesco Cenci by the lover of his daughter Beatrice and at her instigation. He feels that the Beatrice of legend—of Shelley, for instance—is both more and less than the real Beatrice, who in her early twenties was as masculine as Lady Macbeth and as unscrupulous; who though not a victim of incest had yet every reason for loathing her really terrible father, a father whom in many respects she strongly resembled. In her particular case the author has combined his police-court methods with poetic insight and dramatic skill. This girl forces her weak-willed stepmother and her vacillating lover to a heinous crime. But the weaklings, the hesitant instruments of her will, crumble in her hands. And when the truth has been racked out of them she suddenly drops her cool denials and confesses. It is a magnificent tragedy, absorbingly written and handsomely published. Its Latin objectivity, already criticized above, nevertheless lends it an undeniable power. The people in it are all alive, and so is Rome, and so is the sixteenth century.

Only readers with strong stomachs and steady nerves need apply. The most horrible scenes from the torture chamber of a papal court alternate with scenes of revolting obscenity. What has happened, anyhow, to our stomachs and our nerves? We can scarcely read of torture, much less bear or witness it. Is it humanitarianism or an increased love of comfort or what? In this book a modern Italian can still speak, though with horrified disapproval, of animal ferocity and animal filth which in an Anglo-Saxon book review would be quite unprintable. Far from Italy, our stomachs are further still from 1600. A nice contrast in manners.

F. STRINGFELLOW BARR

Books in Brief

The Touchstone of Architecture. By Sir Reginald Blomfield. The Oxford University Press. $3.

This book is strangely persuasive, strangely convincing, strangely blind. It is strangely persuasive because written so simply, so beautifully, yet with that naivete of which only the true scholar is capable; strangely convincing because written out of a hot passion, deeply sincere, for the art of architecture, although the art is seen always from the academic point of view; and strangely blind because with all his sound knowledge of the economic and social conditioning of art Sir Reginald seems to lack entirely an appreciation of that anarchical, creative drive that is behind "modernism." One of the sanest of the more academic English critics finds equally uncreative the plagiarisms of archaeological design and the purely erratic explosions of the most secessionist of the moderns.

Elements of Form and Design in Classic Architecture. By Arthur Stratton. Charles Scribner's Sons. $7.50.

With this book before him no student in an architectural school should ever lack the proper and approved classical solution of any detail in the ordinary problem of design. It is a remarkably comprehensive alphabet of classical motives, clearly and beautifully presented, with, apparently, little attempt at critical selection—a collection of the types that have been, rather than the types that should be, used. In this lies the danger of anthologies of the sort; the printed word on design still, to some, carries an almost mystic authority.

The Parthenon, Its Science of Forms. By Robert W. Gardner. New York University Press.

This large and fully illustrated book is an ambitious attempt to apply not only to the design of the Parthenon itself but also to the plan of Athens, the Piraeus, and the walls connecting the city and its port all the machinery of so-called dynamic symmetry—the "whirling squares," the "root five" rectangle, and so on. Mr. Gardner is modest enough to state that his magic system of three related series merely gives "a scale of related quantities which were, or could have been, used by the designer of the Parthenon." But his system is its own sufficient criticism. Oh, for a mathematician to study theoretically the algebraic probabilities of any three such systems fitting any given building, to settle once and for all the absurdity of these continual futile attempts to mechanize creative art!

The Dividing Line of Europe. By Stephen Graham. D. Appleton and Company. $2.

This book is a curious anachronism. While its dates and events are of 1924 and 1925, its attitude and reasoning are of 1919 and 1920. It begins with a doleful lament for the vanished glories of holy Russia, from the czar and the grand dukes down. It then goes on to describe the author's experiences on a trip through the little states that border Russia on the west—the cordon sanitaire—the dividing line between civilization and barbarism. The observations are punctuated by frequent sobs, the still pent-up emotions of the lament bursting through the attempt to appear objective. Mr. Graham offers a gratuitous insult to other observers of Russia in stating that "permission to visit Bolshevik Russia implies a readiness on the part of the visitor to serve the cause of the Russian Government." He then questions their qualifications for judging events happening under their eyes because of restrictions imposed upon them. Then he proceeds to tell what is going on in peasant Russia, away from the towns and the railways, with a wealth of detail and a depth of penetration which are truly remarkable for one who has not been in Russia since 1917. He even ventures to tell us what today is the "inner will" of Russia! "The Dividing Line of Europe" is the swan-song of the Russian émigrés.

The Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx. By Karl Kautsky. The Macmillan Company. $2.

The Marxian Economic Handbook and Glossary. By W. H. Emmet. International Publishers. $3.25.

Published in the nineties, Kautsky's book has been a classic in Germany for many years, and it is surprising that it should not have been brought out in English until now. Kautsky's exposition of the theory of surplus value and his treatment of the character of commodity production, the nature and function of money, the basis of wages, and the development of machinery in modern industry are acute and clarifying, simple and definitive. The one deficiency of the book is that it omits

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all reference to the philosophic theory of historical materialism which is so essentially a part of the Marxian interpretation of individual and social life. Mr. Emmet's book is a more limited and specific popularization of Marxian theoretics. Its main purpose is to simplify the first three chapters of "Capital." The book is sound in its approach, interesting in its manner of clarification, and keen in its critique of many of the interpretations of Marx that have been made by both scholars and sciolists.

The Psychology of Time. By Mary Sturt. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

The compulsion to include in our worldly adjustments something more than the sensed qualities of objects, something of the abstract order, arises through the rubrics of space and time; every engagement, practical or romantic, requires the three—the time, the place, the girl—or any other objective. The space-world grows by enlarged visual (and tactual) experience, still objective, though formalized in plans, designs, maps—visible symbols of reality. Time is a more abstract experience and the acquisition of a sense of it much slower in development and refinement, in the child and in the race alike. It varies from the seconds of a motor or auditory rhythm to the larger periods of days, seasons, years. Inventions for measuring time, from sun-dials to chronometers, measure the steps of culture; and the modern world has come to do its business by the time-clock, especially since the hustling American discovery that time is money. The historian not less than the astronomer and the geological or biological evolutionist thinks in terms of time; and mathematical and metaphysical speculations find in its essence an inviting mystery, from Ptolemy to Einstein. Lastly comes the psychologist to study experimentally the sense of interval and duration and the organization of the memory system by which we keep the continuum of our growing personalities and experience. All this is interestingly if eclectically surveyed by Miss Sturt, and makes a worth-while volume in a field rather sparsely covered. There is no attempt at proportioned presentation, and much space is given to a series of investigations somewhat tangent to the central theme. Yet the book forms a timely contribution to the natural history of the sense of time and to the career of the concept under the historical unfoldment of human interests, practical and theoretical.

The Riddle of the Earth. By Appian Way. Brentano's. $2.50.

The answer to all the mysteries of the physical globe is, the author would have us believe, one word—meteors.

Drama

Review

IF one were compelled to judge the theatrical season just closed by its average product the judgment passed upon it would be low indeed. Of the hundred and fifty or two hundred new dramatic offerings which the year has seen the majority have already passed into an obscurity as deep as that which surrounds the work of the third-rate dramatist who lived a century and a half ago, and not a few of those whose names still blaze over the doors of theaters constitute a depressing commentary upon the taste of thousands whom the shallowest sensationalism can still thrill. Yet in the realm of art averages are always low, for art is a phenomenal thing in which only the exception counts; and the critic, with his carefully cultivated power of forgetting, remembers only those things which are worth remembering.

Even as seasons go the one just past has not been particularly rich; and yet there have been evenings which remain, at least after the passage of these few months, memorable. Early in the season Patrick Kearney's "A Man's Man" introduced a new playwright of obvious sincerity and power, while George Kelly's "Craig's Wife" revealed the combined technical dexterity and critical mind of an old one. Messrs. Maxwell Anderson, Laurence Stallings, Sidney Howard, and John Howard Lawson failed to reach the success, either financial or artistic, which their work of the previous year had led one to hope for, but Eugene O'Neill, the most dependable as well as the most brilliant of American playwrights, gave us "The Great God Brown," one of the most moving if also one of the most chaotic of his plays; and from England came the touchingly beautiful study in the psychology of adolescence called "Young Woodley." The Theater Guild wandered unhappily from the meretriciousness of Molnar's "The Glass Slipper" to the feebleness of Evreinoff's "The Chief Thing," but justified itself with admirable revivals of "Arms and the Man" and "Androcles and the Lion," while the Neighborhood Playhouse added to its achievements by a brilliant production of "The Dybbuk," a play which depends for its power upon the recreation of an alien spiritual world. "Hamlet in Modern Dress" and the recital of Raquel Meller were interesting novelties; of several revivals of Ibsen, "Hedda Gabler" at least was more than satisfactory; and, best of all, the Musical Studio of the Moscow Art Theater came to dazzle us with its productions of "Carmen" and "Lysistrata," in which were revealed a technique of dramatic expression as new as it was effective. Finally at the end of the season appeared a sound if not brilliant discussion of religious hysteria in "The Bride of the Lamb" and an unusually satisfactory production of "Iolanthe." Add to this list a dozen or more pieces like "Pomeroy's Past" and "The Romantic Young Lady," which are entertaining if not profound, and you have the dramatic year.

There are, I think, no conclusions to be drawn except the general one that even in an off year there are a good many plays in the New York theaters which are worth seeing. The excellences represented by the plays just mentioned are too diverse to justify any attempt at defining tendencies. The styles represented range all the way from the literal naturalism of Mr. Kearney's play to the synthetic art exhibited by the Moscow company; some of the plays are new, some are old, some native, and some foreign. The fact that most of them have met with considerable financial success testifies to the catholic taste of contemporary audiences, but it hardly encourages prophecy. The art of the contemporary stage in New York is highly eclectic and the theater is distinctly hospitable to achievement of almost any kind. It does not exhibit concerted, self-conscious effort in any one direction.

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International Relations Section

Organized Workers in Japan

By HIROSHI SHIMIDZU

ON January 13, 1926, a group of Japanese labor leaders, representing nine national trade unions, met at Tokio and organized a labor political party. Their plan was to build up an organization corresponding to the British Labor Party. The Government did not suppress them. Early in December, 1925, a similar meeting took place in the same city, and within three hours after adjournment the newly formed party had been dissolved upon government orders. Why the discrimination? The more recent meeting was held under the auspices of conservative trade unionists; the earlier one came into existence through the efforts of left wingers, among whom the Communists were active.

These attempts at political organization were a natural consequence of the passage of the manhood-suffrage law in March, 1925. The Japanese working class had been chiefly responsible for this reform and was anxious to utilize it to the fullest advantage. The Russian Revolution has been a tremendous influence among the Japanese proletariat. It gave them courage; it affected their mode of thinking. Then America's exclusion of the Japanese by the immigration law of 1924 forced the Japanese worker closer to Russia, increasing Communist influence. The conservative Government reacted against this by applying the peace preservation bill, punishing with fines and imprisonment Communists and Socialists.

This, of course, may cripple the political power that universal suffrage seemed to hold out for the Japanese workers. How far the Government can go will depend upon the economic strength of the trade unions. It is, therefore, necessary to make a careful analysis of the resources of the labor movement in Japan.

In spite of the fact that Japan is a great industrial Power, the mass of Japanese workingmen are not found in modern industry. Rather are they in the primitive industries, such as farming and fishing. The following figures for 1920[1] make this clear:

Occupations	Number of workers		Per cent of the total number of classified workers
Industrial occupations—			
Mining	446,000		
Manufacturing	3,630,000		
Trade and Commerce	1,109,000		
Transportation	647,000		
Total		5,832,000	36.5
Primitive occupations—			
Farming	9,020,000		
Fishing	390,000		
Total		9,410,000	58.9
Miscellaneous—			
Governmental service	263,000		
Other occupations	465,000		
Total		728,000	4.6
Grand total		15,970,000	100.0

Among farm workers are included agricultural laborers, tenants who are practically of the same economic status as laborers, and seasonal farm workers.

Let us now consider the sex distribution of Japanese workers. The following table for 1920 supplies the data[2]:

Occupations	Number of male workers	Number of female workers	Total number of both sexes
Industrial occupations—			
Mining	348,000	98,000	446,000
Manufacturing	2,431,000	1,199,000	3,630,000
Trade and Commerce	523,000	586,000	1,109,000
Transportation	594,000	53,000	647,000
Total	3,896,000	1,936,000	5,832,000
Primitive occupations—			
Farming	3,125,000	5,895,000	9,020,000
Fishing	350,000	40,000	390,000
Total	3,475,000	5,935,000	9,410,000
Miscellaneous—			
Governmental service	141,000	122,000	263,000
Other occupations	291,000	174,000	465,000
Total	432,000	296,000	728,000
Grand totals	7,803,000	8,167,000	15,970,000

A study of these figures shows, first, that women make up more than half of the total number of Japanese workers; secondly, that three-quarters of them are found in agriculture; and, thirdly, that they constitute two-thirds of the number of agricultural workers and only one-third of those in industrial occupations. When we remember that the universal suffrage law applies only to men, we can understand the weakness of the labor-party movement in Japan.

The organized workers form but a small proportion of the whole labor population of Japan. They generally fall into five political groups: (1) Communist, (2) Anarcho-Syndicalist, (3) Socialist, (4) Liberal, (5) Changing as the figures for September to December, 1924[3], indicate:

Classification of unions	Number of unions	Number of male union members
Communist—		
Kwanto Labor Council[4]	6	3,000
Anarcho-Syndicalist—		
Federation of Printers	8	1,500
Socialist—		
General Federation of Labor of Japan	62	25,000
Liberal—		
Japan's Farmer Union	1	52,000
Federation of Naval Labor Unions	6	45,600
Japanese Seamen's Union	1	37,000
General Federation of Laborers of Governmental Enterprises	7	13,500
Federation of Transport Laborers of Japan	4	11,800
Japan Muslin Workers' Union	1	6,700
Federation of Japanese Labor Union	5	4,300
Federation of Machinists' Union	7	3,500
Yokohama Shipbuilders' Labor Union	1	2,000
Hakubun Printers' Club	1	2,000
Federation of Japanese Cooks	2	1,800
Shibaura Laborers' Union	1	1,800
Federation of Central Labor Unions	4	1,200
Shipyard and Engineers' Union	1	1,100
Total	42	184,300

[1] Bureau of Governmental Statistics; "Abstract of the First National Census." Tokio, Japan. 1924. (In Japanese.)

[2] "Abstract of the First National Census."

[3] "The Labour Year-Book of Japan, 1925." The Sixth Issue. (In Japanese.) Compiled by the Ohara Institute of Social Research, Osaka, Japan.

[4] This organization belongs to the General Federation of Labor of Japan, and was recently enlarged to the Japan Union Council of the G. F. of L. of Japan.

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Changing—		
United Seamen's Union.....	1	12,000
Seamen's Association	1	7,300
United Friendly Society.....	1	2,300
Cooks' Union of Nippon Yusen Kaisha	1	2,300
Yokohama City Street-car Labor Union	1	1,000
Total	5	24,900

If to the Communists, Socialists, Anarcho-Syndicalists are added some of the liberal union members, such as the Japanese Seamen's Union, the Federation of Japanese Cooks, and Japan's Farmer Union (these three unions being particularly close to the General Federation of Labor of Japan), there is an aggregate of about 100,000—42 per cent of the total labor-union membership.

On the whole, this portends better conditions for the radical and liberal labor unions, because the main purpose of the progressive Japanese labor unions is not only the emancipation of the workers from modern economic slavery but also the reconstruction of the capitalistic social order.

The Japanese workers now organized are a small proportion of the working classes, although the radical groups in the unions are a great power. Furthermore, the present universal manhood-suffrage law limits voters to those over twenty-five years of age. Therefore, the radical and liberal unionists, who have only between 50,000 and 60,000 eligible to vote, are weak politically.

Thus the radical proletariat in Japan is not strong enough to influence greatly the mass of working people in organized labor or in politics. The radical groups and the intellectual socialistic societies, however, are not static. Today, in Japan, there are some thirty workers' schools, and a number of radical or liberal groups, such as the Students' Federation of Social Science, which is organized in more than fifty branches and has a membership of 1,600 in the schools and colleges. Its aim is the reconstruction of capitalistic society through the action of the working class.

The labor parties at the next general election, which will be the first occasion for the exercise of universal manhood suffrage, will not exert much influence, but it is conceivable that within the next ten years they will control the Japanese Imperial Diet.

Scenes from the Italian Farce

The following scene from the Italian Chamber was reported in the *Berliner Tageblatt* for May 3, 1926. Federzoni, Secretary of the Interior, declared the home situation to be very satisfactory. There was great applause. The only opposition came from the Communist Maffi, who spoke of the first of May and cited Mussolini's former speeches on that occasion. Violent denunciations followed, stopping just short of physical attack.

MAFFI: You say that the Italian workers live in excellent circumstances. (Voice: The workers' contracts prove that!) But the cost of living is constantly mounting.

MUSSOLINI (interrupting): That is the case in Russia too.

MAFFI: Yes, but Russian workers are treated differently.

MUSSOLINI (in anger): The President of the Soviets declared recently that wages will never rise.

MAFFI: But the power of the Russian regime——

MUSSOLINI (interrupting): The power of the Russian regime rests on bayonets. (Great applause.) We, too, have our bayonets! (Enormous applause.)

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MAFFI: But your bayonets serve the establishment and defense of an outworn regime!

MUSSOLINI: No! No! (All the Deputies of the Government party also shout: No! No!) In Russia there are 200,000 neglected children.

MAFFI (continues): The necessity of raising the police budget shows the growing weakness of Fascism, which is seriously threatened by the unions.

When he endeavored to prove his point by statistics, Deputy Starace suddenly approached and tore away his materials, arousing great hilarity in the Chamber.

A similar scene was enacted a few days later and reported in the *Berliner Tageblatt* for May 15. On this occasion a Slovene representative attempted to put the case for the people of his nationality included in the present boundaries of Italy. The report follows:

BESDENJAK: The attempt is being made to introduce the Italian language among us at any price, though neither the children nor the parents understand it.

MUSSOLINI (interrupting): Go ahead and learn it! Your children have great ability in language study.

BESDENJAK: I have already sent to the Minister of Public Instruction dozens of inquiries——

MUSSOLINI (interrupting): That's far too many! (Hilarity.)

BESDENJAK: In Italy all foreigners can continue their language and literature in private. Only we Slovenes, who pay taxes——

GRECO (interrupting): —must learn Italian!

STARACE, Vice-General Secretary of the Fascist Party: If the Italian language does not suit you, why don't you get out of Italy?

BESDENJAK: Because we are in Italy and not in China. (Great noise and shouts: Stop! Enough! Enough!)

BESDENJAK: Our teachers are compelled to join Fascist organizations if they do not want to lose their bread.

MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION: That is not true!

GEMELLI: Will you finally understand, yes or no, that Italy is a unified state and not a potpourri of nations like the former Austria.

BESDENJAK: The dignity of Slav teachers rebels against certain conditions.

Interruptions: Who pays these Slav teachers?

MUSSOLINI: Don't be so theatrical!

BESDENJAK: The taxes which we pay are used by the Italian Government to denationalize us. Just as your children have the right to learn their mother-tongue, so have ours.

ARRIVABENE shouts: Enough! That's more than we can tolerate!

GRECO: You will finally have to understand that you are a defeated people and that, willy-nilly, you will have to obey our laws.

Next day Tienzl, Deputy from Merano [in the Tyrol], protested also against denationalization. He declared that as long as a German or Slovene Deputy sat in the Italian Chamber, these provinces would never cease their demand for the recognition of their mother tongues. Amid great noise he complained bitterly that German had been excluded from the curriculum even as an elective subject.

FEDELE, Minister of Public Instruction: Remember the resolutions of the Pan-German days of Sterzing! (Great applause.)

TIENZL: Nevertheless the attempts to denationalize the German population will fail completely. The Italian school has thus far shown no results whatever. (Violent protests.)

MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION: The Italian school will be victorious, for Italian culture is superior!

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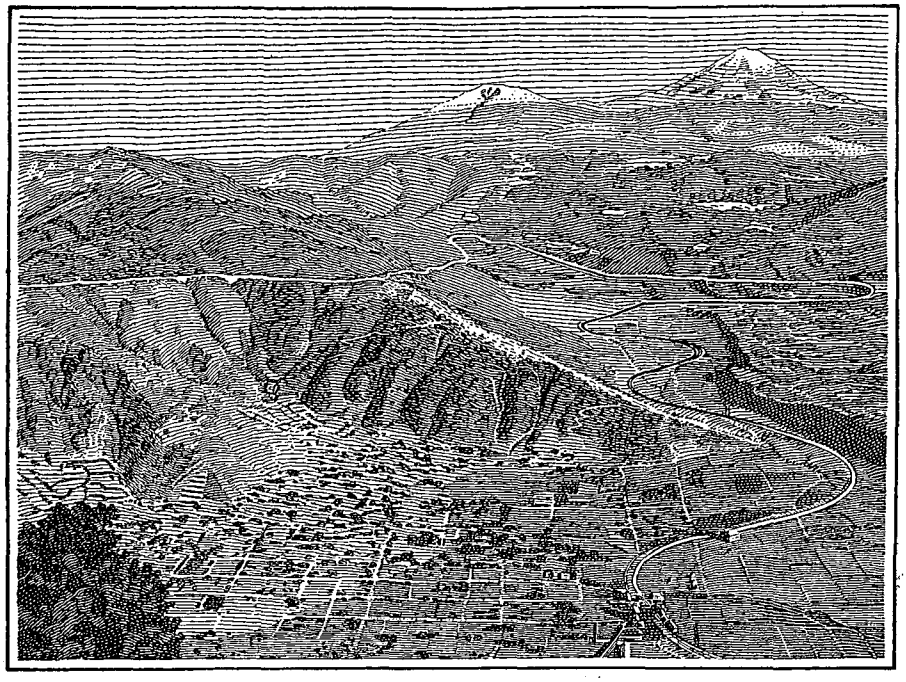

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